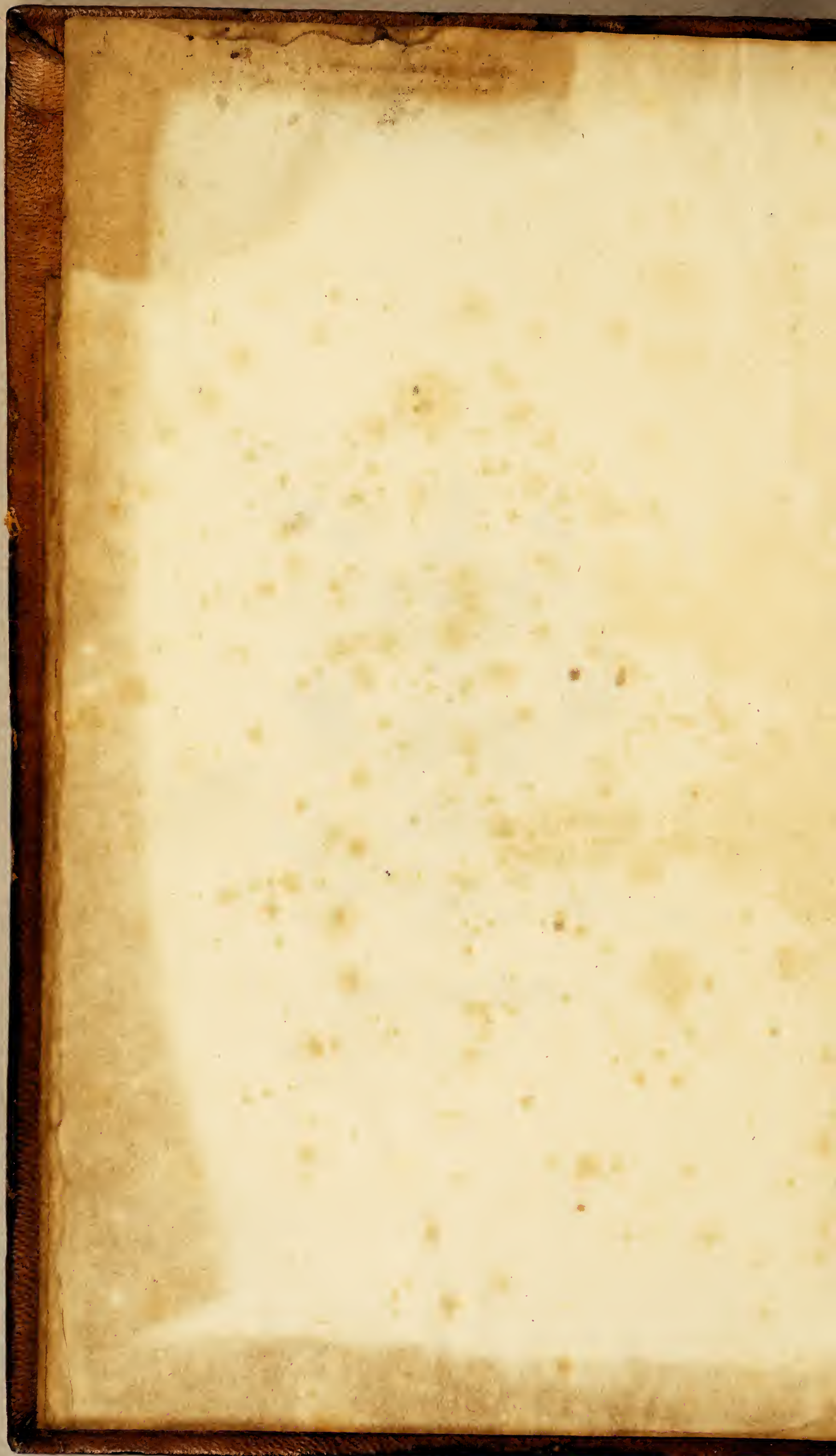


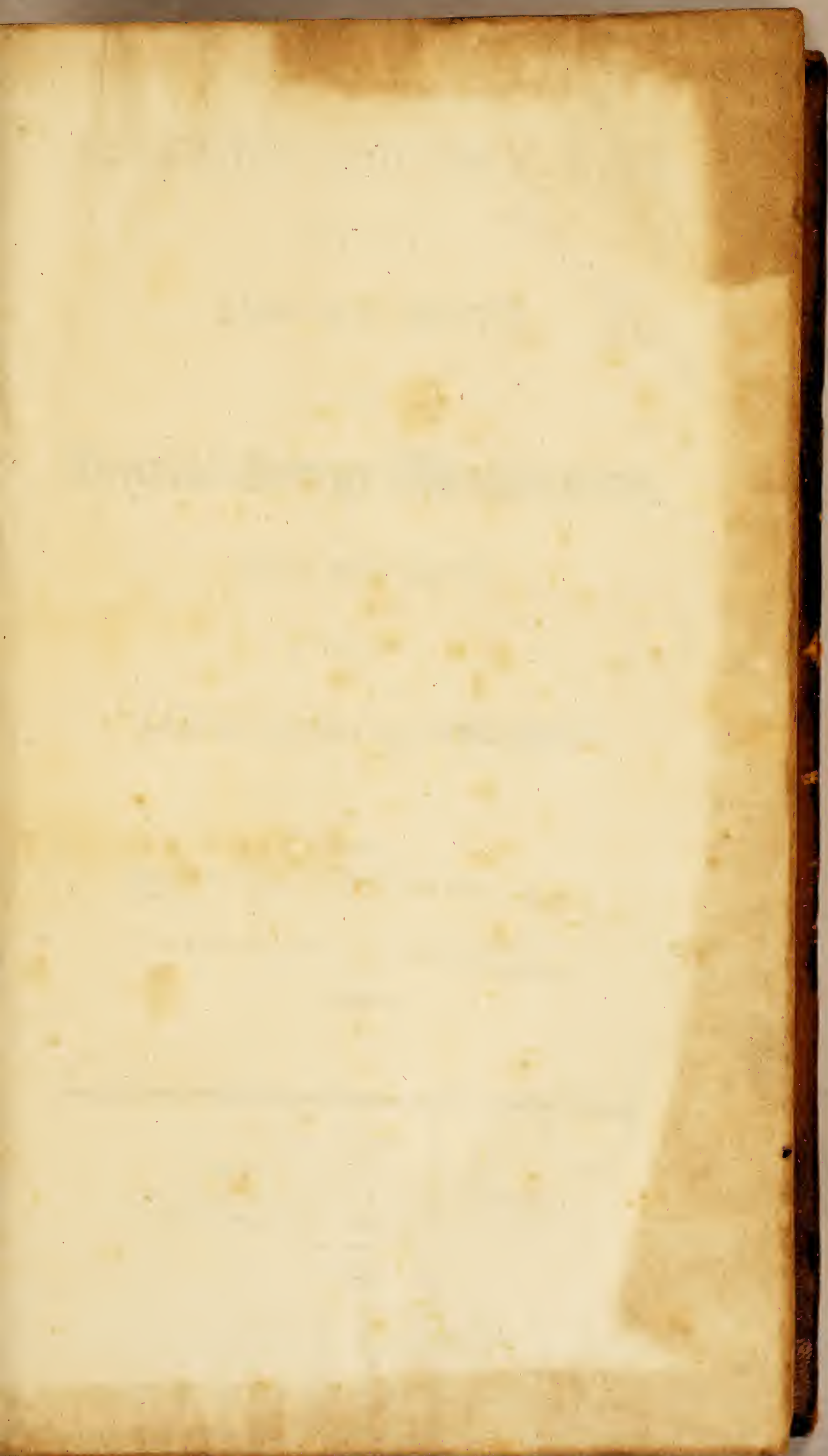
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EULOGIES AND ORATIONS

ON THE

LIFE and *DEATH*

OF

General George Washington,

FIRST PRESIDENT

OF THE

United States of America.

Heu pietas ! heu prisca fides ! invictaque bello
Dextera !

VIRG.

"THE MOURNEFUL TRIBUTE OF A NATION'S LOVE."

CALDWELL.

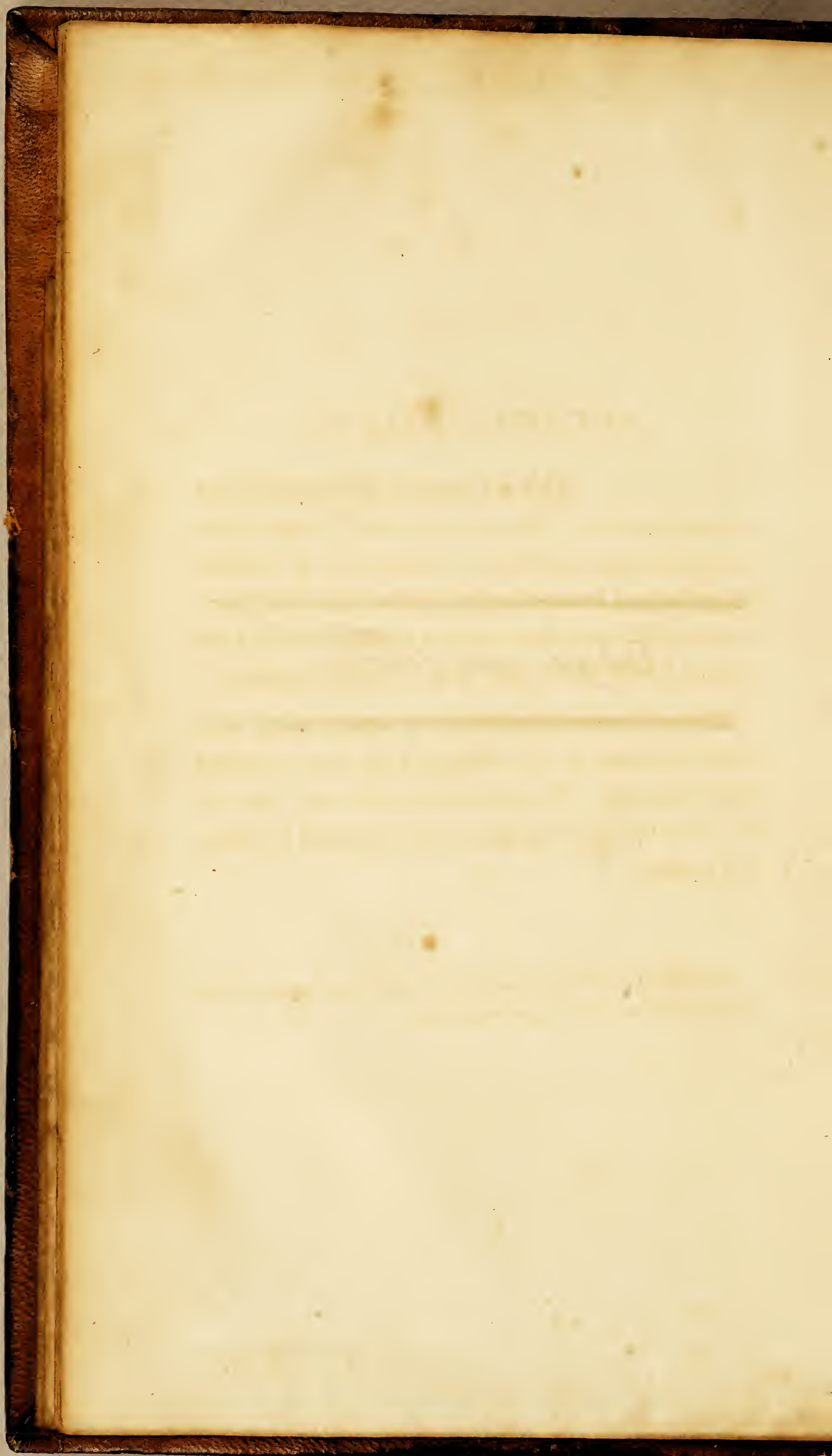
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Eulogies and Orations.



ADVERTISEMENT.

AS a memorial of veneration and gratitude to the "MAN OF THE AGE," this volume is presented to the Public. In selecting its contents from the numerous Orations delivered on the death of this illustrious character, the Publishers have been guided less by their own, than by public opinion.

Many Orations, probably of equal merit with those contained in this volume, have from necessity been omitted. They have aimed to take some of the most valuable that have been delivered in different States.

✻ Copyrights of many of the Eulogies and Orations inserted in this volume, have been secured according to Law.

Let nothing be done in the
house of God without the
consent of the whole
congregation. Forasmuch as
the church is the body of
Christ, and he himself
the head, which saveth
the church, as his own
body, of which he is the
saviour, to cleanse it
with the word of water
by the word, to present
himself to himself a
glorious church, without
spot or wrinkle, or any
such thing, but that
it should be holy, without
blemish.

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EULOGIES AND ORATIONS.

Funeral Oration

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF CONGRESS, DEC. 26, 1799.

BY *MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY LEE,*
Member of Congress from Virginia.

IN obedience to your* will, I rise your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honour.

Desperate, indeed, is any attempt on earth to meet correspondently this dispensation of Heaven; for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting, in our finite view of Omnipotent Wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the

* The two Houses of Congress.

human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war; what limit is there to the extent of our loss? None within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

The founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! O that this were but questionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us; our WASHINGTON is removed forever! Possessing the stoutest frame and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Saturday, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday put an end to the best of men. An end, did I say? His fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts—in the growing knowledge of our children—in the affection of the good throughout the world. And when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished; still will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos!

How, my fellow-citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where shall I begin, in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? Shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will, all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful WASHINGTON supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated Braddock, and saving, by his judgment and by his valour, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? or when, oppressed America no-

bly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congress to the command of her armies? Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where, to an undisciplined, courageous and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country? Or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long-Island, York-Island and New-Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety, undismayed by disaster, unchanged by change of fortune? Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom, unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks—himself unmoved? Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter. The storm raged. The Delaware, rolling furiously with floating ice, forbade the approach of man. WASHINGTON, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene. His country called. Unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore; he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless Chief, pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton, what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

Thence to the strong grounds of Morristown he led his small but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valour on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and since, our much lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved Chief through the

various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our Union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine, the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Every where present, wants of every kind obstrueting, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? No: our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory. To Gates, to Greene, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaws, receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency; until the auspicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the sence conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and, in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous Chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition, and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare; teaching an admiring world, that to be truly great you must be truly good.

Were I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished. Great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic,

it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous. His various talents, combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he, who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid, but more important part.

Possessing a clear and penetrating mind, a strong and sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed; drawing information from all; acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism; his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have distinguished the era of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither mistaken nor unobserved, when, to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

How novel, how grand the spectacle! Independent States stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety; deciding, by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government, through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their Chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labours of himself and his compatriots, the work

of their hands, and our union, strength and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of her hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethereal spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a Constitution, was shewing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event, is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and this high-wrought, delightful scene was heightened in its effect, by the singular contest between the zeal of the bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honours bestowed.

Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life? He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity. Watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government by all the attri-

butes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!"

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding Houses of Congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned with a force increased with increase of age; and he had prepared his Farewell Address to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interposition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of President followed; and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the Chief Magistracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy; such a Chief must be for ever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue! which uplifts even the subdued savage.

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct, was sanctioned by the

approbation of both Houses of Congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

*"Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida."*

Maintaining his pacific system at the expense of no duty, America, faithful to herself, and unstained in her honour, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

Pursuing steadfastly his course, he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguishable desire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

The promulgation of his fixed resolution stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth? Turn over the records of ancient Greece; review the annals of mighty Rome; examine the volumes of modern Europe—you search in vain. AMERICA and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

The illustrious personage called by the national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter. The amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused

by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and grey in public service. The virtuous veteran, following his plough,* received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

The annunciation of these feelings in his affecting letter to the President, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life. Pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere ; uniform, dignified and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender. Correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand. The purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life. Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him ; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well-spent life. Such was the man America has lost ! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns !

Methinks I see his august image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, these deep sinking words :

“ CEASE, Sons of AMERICA, lamenting our separation. Go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion ; diffuse knowledge throughout your land ; patronize the arts and sciences ; let liberty and order be inseparable companions ; control party spirit, the bane of free government ; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations ;

* General WASHINGTON, though opulent, gave much of his time to practical agriculture.

shut up every avenue to foreign influence ; contract rather than extend national connexion ; rely on yourselves only : be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labours : thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity, the felicity of a people to me most dear ; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high Heaven bestows."

An Eulogy

ON GEORGE WASHINGTON, LATE COMMANDER IN
CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Delivered before the Inhabitants of the Town of *BOSTON*,
at the Request of their Committee, *Jan. 9, 1800.*

BY GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, A.M. A.A.S.

OUR duty, my Fellow-Townsmen, on this distressing occasion, is dictated by the dignity and resplendent virtue of the beloved Man whose death we deplore. We assemble to pay a debt to departed merit; a debt which we can only pay by the sincerity of our grief, and the respectful effusions of gratitude: for the highest eulogy left us to bestow upon our lamented WASHINGTON, is the strict narration of the truth, and the loftiest character which we can assign to him, is the very display of himself. When ambition allies itself to guilt; when power tramples upon right; when victory triumphs in blood; when piety sits clouded in superstition; when humility is affected by cunning; when patriotism is founded on selfishness: then let adulation spread her prostituted mantle, to screen the disgraces of her patrons, and amuse with the falsehoods of her imagination. But to our political Father, the faithful page of history is panegyric, and the happiness of his country is the monument of his fame.

Come, then, Warriors! Statesmen! Philosophers! Citizens! assemble round the tomb of this favourite son of virtue; with all the luxury of sorrow recollect the important events of his life, and partake of the greatest legacy which a mortal could bequeath you, in the contemplation of his example. Whilst we solemnize this act, his disembodied spirit, if it be permitted

to retrace the scenes of its terrestrial existence, will smile with approbation on the instructive rite.

Your anniversaries have long honoured the eleventh of February, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, as the birth-day of our illustrious Chief ; and the parish of his own name in Westmoreland county, in Virginia, boasts itself the place of his nativity. But to souls like his, local restrictions are not attached. Where Liberty was, there would be his country. Happy for us, the Genius of Liberty, responsive to his affections, resolved that where WASHINGTON was, there also should be her abode.

Educated by private instruction, his virtue grew with his knowledge, and the useful branches of literature occupied the whole powers of his mind. Exemplary for solidity of thought and chastity of morals, he was honoured by the government of Virginia with an important mission, at an age when the levities of the human character seldom yield to the earliest operation of reason.

At the opening of the great war of encroachments upon our western frontiers, he was the bearer of the remonstrance to the French. Such was the address, fidelity and perseverance with which he executed this important trust, that he was honoured at twenty-two years of age with the command of a regiment raised by his province. His military talents were soon called to the test. At Redstone, Victory perched upon his standard ; but, with that volatility by which she tries the powers of her favourite heroes, she in a few months afterwards left him, by his own exertions to save the honours of war for his little band, in an unequal, but well supported battle. In Braddock's slaughtered army, he was a witness to scenes of horror, which his caution, had it been adopted, would have prevented, and which his steady courage assisted much to retrieve. During the remainder of this war, he was employed in fortifying his native province, in arranging and perfecting its militia, and in checking the incursions of the

enemy, until the crisis of the contest had passed in this country, when he resigned his command.

Retirement to him was only a different mode of action ; and his repose partook not of indolence. Amidst the honourable pursuits of agriculture, he discharged various civil offices, until we find him rising amongst the patriots of our country, as a delegate from Virginia, in the first American Congress.

We shall ever remember the fifteenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, when Providence directed to his appointment as the Commander in Chief of our revolutionary army. In this neighbourhood he first drew his sword. Many of you, my fellow-townsmen, were then languishing under the fetters of tyranny, or were imprisoned within the joyless confines of your own habitations. Your hope was fixed on him. His command, independent of the resources of his own mind, afforded no ground for the support of your feelings. He had an army brave indeed, but with little discipline ; naked at the approach of winter, and almost subject to dissolution from temporary enlistments ; a pay-master without money ; a commissary struggling on the utmost stretch of credit. A veteran army lay under his eye, strongly fortified, regularly paid, warmly clothed, and boasting its superiority to militia. Yet did his victorious sword relieve you, and save your city. Justly have you ascribed “ your reinstatement to his wise arrangements, which compelled your invaders to adopt a less destructive policy than that which on other occasions they so wantonly practised.” Could our gratitude forget it, the heights around us bear the triumphant evidence of his conquest.

To trace this protector of our liberties through his unrivalled career, from his gloomy retreat through the Jerseys to his several victories and his splendid triumph at Yorktown, would be to narrate the varying history of our revolution. To him, public labour was amusement ; suffering in the cause of freedom was a luxury ;

and every hour, as it flew, carried an offering to his country.

As obedience to the voice of his oppressed fellow-citizens drew his sword on the approach of war, so at the declaration of peace, by the same respected voice he restored it to its scabbard. He left them his blessing and their liberties. O Human Nature, how hast thou been traduced ! With thee, has it been said, is essentially connected that lust of power which is insatiable ; which restores not voluntarily what has been committed to its charge ; which devours all rights, and resolves all laws into its own authority ; which labours not for others, but seizes the fruits of their labours for itself ; which breaks down all barriers of religion, society and nature, that obstruct its course ! Now art thou vindicated ! Here we behold thee allied to virtue, worn in the service of mankind, superior to the meanness of compensation, humbly hoping for the thanks of thy country alone, faithfully surrendering the sword with which thou wast intrusted, and yielding up power with a promptness and facility equalled only by the diffidence and reluctance with which thou receivedst it.

Now, will the future inquirer say, this Hero has finished the task assigned him ; the measure of his glory is full. A world is admitted to freedom—a nation is born. Favoured beyond the leader of Israel, not only with the prospect, but with the fruition of the promised blessing, he has retired, like that prince of meekness, to the *Mount*, whence he is to ascend, unseen by a weeping people, to the reward of all his labours. No ; he is to live another life upon this globe ; he is to reap a double harvest in the field of perennial honour. The people he has saved from external tyranny, suffer from the agitations of their own unsettled powers. The tree of liberty, which he has planted and so carefully guarded from the storms, now flourishes beyond its strength : its lofty excrescences threaten to tear its less extended roots from the earth, and to prostrate it fruitless on the plain. But, he comes ! In

Convention he presides over councils, as in war he had led the battle. The Constitution, like the rainbow after the flood, appears to us, now just emerging from an overwhelming commotion ; and we know the truth of the pledge from the sanction of his name.

The production was worthy of its authors, and of the magnanimous people whom it was intended to establish. You adopt it, you cherish it, and you resolve to transmit it, with the name of WASHINGTON, to the latest generation, who shall prove their just claim to such an illustrious descent.

Who was so worthy as our great Legislator, to direct the operations of a government which his counsels and his sword had laboured to erect ? By a unanimous suffrage he was invited to the exalted station of President of the United States. The call was too sacred to admit of doubt : it superseded the happiness of retirement, the demands of private interest, the sweet attractions of domestic society, and the hazard (forgive it, WASHINGTON ! for thou wast mortal) the hazard of public reputation. Behold the man on this occasion, so mighty in the eye of all the world, so humble in his own ! He accepts the high appointment with such distrust of his natural endowments, with such diffidence in his capacity, as can be relieved only by his reliance on that ALMIGHTY BEING, " who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect."

One of the earliest acts of his administration was that circular visit to transfuse his love, and receive the grateful benedictions of his loving countrymen, in which you, my fellow-townsmen, partook so liberal a share. What sensations rushed upon your minds, when you compared the dreadful aspect of your besieged city with its now smiling condition ! The well cultivated fields were screening from view the late terrific ramparts of the enemy, and the groans of the distressed had yielded to the busy noise of commerce and pleasure. How grateful now is the recollection, that with

tears of joy you crowded to meet him in your streets, displaying the very insignia which you this day bear in mournful procession ; and your children, bowing their heads with eager solicitude to attract his fatherly eye, received his pious blessing !

Did the occasion admit of it, how pleasing would be the review of his administration, as our Supreme Executive Magistrate ! His talents and his virtues increased with his cares. His soul seemed not to bear the limits of office a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotism withdrew their restraints from his universal love. When the misguided savages of the wilderness, after feeling his chastisement, had sued for peace, he seemed to labour for their happiness as the common representative of mankind. Insurrection was so struck at his countenance, that it fled from the shock of his arm. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her poisonous web ; but he burst it with gigantic strength, and crushed her labours. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was dashed into oblivion, as we trust, forever. The nations of Europe saw the wisdom of our laws, the vigour of our measures, the justice of our policy, the firmness of our government, and acquiesced in the neutrality of our station.

The dangers of the Commonwealth having subsided at the close of his second administration, he felt himself justified, after dedicating forty-five years of his valuable life to her service, in withdrawing to receive with resignation the great change of nature, which his age and his toils demonstrated to be near. When he declined your future suffrages, he left you a legacy. What ! like Cesar's to the Romans, money for your sports ? Like Attalus's, a kingdom for your tyranny ? No ; he left you not such baubles, nor for such purposes. He left you the records of wisdom for your government ; a mirror for the faithful representation to your own view, of yourselves, your weaknesses, your advantages, your dangers : a magnet which points to the secret mines and windings of party spirit, faction,

foreign influence : a pillar to the unity of your republic : a band to inclose, conciliate and strengthen the whole of your wonderful and almost boundless communities. Read, preserve the sacred deposit ; and lest posterity should forget the truth of its maxims, engrave them on his tomb, that they may read them when they weep before it.

In his second resignation of power and the charms of office, the American leader appears superior to ancient or modern examples. Yet another grade was assigned to his virtue. Our national rights, so well defended at home, were invaded on the ocean. The alarm reaches his retreat ; the honour of our republic warms his heart ; and he again accepts the sword for its defence from the hand of another, placed by the voice of the people in that supreme magistracy, which he alone had heretofore filled. With a less dignified soul, this official inferiority might have availed to injure his country : but he who could descend from the head of a nation to discharge the minutest duties of a private citizen, was too great to allow the influence of etiquette to endanger the safety of the people. His condescension raises him above himself ; his spirit fires all ranks of men ; he is overwhelmed with the gratitude and applause of an enraptured nation.

Whilst we confide in his arm, and are marshalling our warriors to march under his banners, the God of armies, whose counsels are beyond the scrutiny of man, prepares for us the test of our submission to his chastising rod. It is decreed that our WASHINGTON shall die, but that his death shall be worthy of his life. He is to die by the hand of Virtue. The rapid disease which is selected as the instrument of his dissolution, instantaneously seizes him. His humanity delays the immediate aid to which alone it may yield. Inconso- lable domestics ! what storms would you not have braved, what hazards would you not have encountered, to save that life which was sacrificed to your comfort and safety ! At length Science flies to save him.

Alas ! what avails its skill against the mandate of Heaven ? It comes too late !——It is finished.

Wonderful event ! Greatness departs in glory, and envy is silent ! All acknowledge him to be the first of citizens, and none feel hurt by his superiority. So impartial was he, that none impeach his justice ; so moderate, none complain of his power ; so magnanimous, his conquered enemies applaud his humanity ; so philanthropic, that neither colour, nor climate, nor religion, nor politics, could exclude the unfortunate from his succour. He had the habit of combining sentiment with action in such method and force, that he shed his benevolence on communities of men with the same ease as the sudden impulse of momentary sensibility bestows it upon individuals. Unexampled virtue ! allotted to its merited reward. Many founders of nations have been left to obtain from posterity that reputation which prejudice or bigotry has denied at their deaths. The tomb has been necessary to bury anger, petty interests and emulation, which barred an equitable judgment. But in regard to this sage, the gratitude of his country has been co-existent with his exertions. Time has not been required to remove him from our view, in order to magnify his exploits through the medium of fame ; nor was it requisite that we should be deprived of the good he had done us, to entertain a just sense of its importance. Medals and statues have been decreed him when living, and your tears announce his greater triumph in your hearts, when dead. Disinterested love ! What motives have you, freemen, for thus offering up your applause ? He has now no shield to defend you from the invasions of your enemies ; his head lies cold in the grave, and no counsel can arise from his lips. His eyes were closed by his own unshaken hand ; and no smile can now beam from his countenance to animate your troops. Grateful Republicans ! indeed you weep not from selfishness. Afflicted with the thought of the blessings which he has showered upon yourselves and your chil-

dren, you would call him, could your voice be heard, from the closed mansions of the dead, again to receive the tribute of your affection. You weep for her, whose tender participation in the anxieties of a husband relieved his cares, and protracted the invaluable life which love itself could no longer detain. Disconsolate woman ! mourn not ; for the faithful is gone to receive the reward of his uprightness. The whole desire of his heart, the whole pursuit of his labours, has been the good of his fellow-men. Contrast him with those who have been raised by the empty, the criminal admiration of mankind, to the highest ranks in the pantheon of fame. See one, instead of liberating and protecting, employed in conquering and enslaving a world, and weeping that his guilty task could be continued no longer. Another retiring from the purple, not with the united blessings of all religious sects, but the bigoted persecutor of the only rational and divine religion. See the master of so many crowns, after yielding them up for a convent, instead of interesting himself in the welfare of mankind to the hour of his departure, relapsing into the absurdities of monkish superstition ; and another, whose ashes are scarcely cold, slaughtering the armies of half the nations of Europe, to extend the limits of an electorate, with as much zeal as our departed hero laboured to extend the limits of freedom, civilization and morals. When so much worth steps off from the stage of life, the weakness of our nature is the only apology for our tears. Such an exit is not death ; it is the triumph of the just.

Sons of Freedom ! as you regard the memory of your ascended Chief, attend to the injunctions of his will. Remember that it was not for you alone he laboured ; it was for your posterity also ; it was for the human race. For you and for them he was first in building the noblest political system that adorns the world. It is an experiment to ascertain the nature of man ; whether he be capable of freedom, or whether he must be led by the reins of tyranny ; whether he

be endowed with that moderation and understanding which checks the extreme indulgence of his will, and by allowing to others the same rational enjoyment with himself, forms the liberty of the whole upon the partial restraint of each individual ; or whether he must go on attempting to follow the dictates of selfishness, and find his only restraint in a power which will establish itself independent of his consent, and make him its slave. Who of us can be supposed to be so lost to himself, so forgetful of his children, and so traitorous to the world, as to contemplate the overthrow of this magnificent temple of wisdom ? No, my fellow-townsmen ; whatever zeal may suddenly suggest, or apprehensions tempt us to suspect, there lives not a man among us so depraved, so cursed by Heaven. Shall it be said, that the works of his hands whom we this day almost adore, that the hope which he held out to the nations of the earth, shall be frustrated by our divisions ? To the honour of our country, not a man but answers, No. All, when rightly informed, wave their particular prejudices, in support of the great pillar of our national union. It is our pride ; it was erected by our fathers ; it is the standard of our defence. Let us then, with a view of forever maintaining it, banish all animosity, melt down all parties, wipe away all distinctions. Let us no longer designate men who have differed in sentiment, by odious epithets, mutually reflected and mutually disavowed : but if a common name be wanted, let it be formed from his whom we now seek to honour, and let it be used to denote good will to one another, respect to our Constitution, fortitude to our enemies, love to our country, devotion to our God.

In the condolence of this day, we cannot fail to notice the honour which we feel by the presence of the Fathers of the State. It was not unbecoming the dignity of office, on such an occasion, to suspend its occupations, and join the general sorrow. To devote this portion of time to his memory, who devoted a long life to our happiness, is rational and just. Within the

present political year, you, honourable Magistrates and Legislators, in this place solemnized the obsequies of the late excellent Governor of our Commonwealth, the much respected SUMNER. Thus pass away the wise, the virtuous and the faithful ; by an irrevocable decree, less unwelcome to them, as it respects themselves, than grievous to us. Their lives are long enough for their own glory, but, alas ! still too necessary to their country's welfare. The experience, the learning, the genius, the various coincidence of circumstances, which are necessary to form that effulgence of character, by which they enlighten, civilize and direct society, fall to the lot of few. When such lamps are extinguished, we are happy if our darkness be transient. But in your wisdom the people of our Commonwealth safely confide : nor as members of our united country, do they mourn like those who are without hope ; for although in the present gloom of our political hemisphere, their late ruling planet has travelled to the morning of another clime, yet its kindred luminary rises on the horizon, brilliant, steady, and propitious to direct their course. They lament that their beloved WASHINGTON sleeps in death : their consolation is, that his faithful Brother, the vigilant ADAMS, survives.

An Eulogy

ON THE LATE GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *PORTSMOUTH*, New-Hampshire, on
Tuesday, *December 31*, 1799,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS.

BY JONATHAN MITCHEL SEWALL, ESQ.

MEN, BRETHREN, AND FATHERS !

WOULD to God, (if I may so speak, without seeming to blame the sovereign will and wisdom) would to God, I had not so melancholy an occasion as the present, to address my mourning fellow-citizens on their late irreparable loss ! But that Being “who doth his will in the armies of heaven above, and among the inhabitants of earth beneath,” in his holy, though inscrutable providence, by this late most afflicting dispensation, hath pointed out the melancholy duty.

Yes ; WASHINGTON, the great and good ; the deliverer of his country ; the defender of her rights ; the avenger of her wrongs ; and the glorious asserter of her freedom, sovereignty and independence—WASHINGTON, your friend, your father, is no more !

At this mournful event, every bosom heaves the heart-felt sigh ; every eye pours forth the filial tear ; and United America groans through all her numerous States !

It has been a laudable custom in most nations and ages of the world, when some public benefactor, some great and illustrious personage has closed this mortal scene, by public eulogy to embalm his memory, commemorate and record his virtues. It is a tribute which

the ingenuous and feeling heart delights to pay ; a debt of gratitude, which even the basest minds can scarcely withhold. Such shining examples, held forth to public view, have a far greater effect on the minds of men, than all the precepts of dry philosophy, or the pedantry and dull dogmas of the schools. While they enlighten they warm the heart, and, by their living energy, stimulate to great and godlike actions.

And have not we, my audience, the highest cause to mourn the loss, to celebrate the virtues, and eulogize the actions of our great and illustrious benefactor and father ? What ample scope does the theme afford for all the powers of eloquence—all the sensibilities of gratitude and affection !

What ancient or modern patriot, sage or hero, can in all respects be compared to our beloved WASHINGTON ? Equal wisdom, (perhaps) political knowledge, acute discernment, deep penetration, amiable goodness, disinterested patriotism, undaunted heroism, invincible fortitude, or incorruptible integrity, taken separately, may have been possessed by others : But where do we find, in *one* character, an assemblage of them all, concentrated and combined, like the solar rays, into one focus, or the splendid galaxy in a serene sky, but in our immortal WASHINGTON ?

But that I may not incur the censure of being too general or declamatory, I will attempt to give a few brief sketches of the life of this venerable patriot and hero, previous, as well as posterior, to the American revolution ; interspersed with such remarks as occur to my mind in the course of my progress. To detail half the particulars worthy to be had in perpetual remembrance, would exceed the limits of the present opportunity ; to delineate, with exactness in the portrait, each feature of the admirable original, is far beyond the powers of my pencil ; and to unfold and display all the excellencies in this wonderful character, would require the life of a patriarch, the pen of a prophet,

and the tongue of an angel : or, in the language of the father of verse,

“ To count them all, demands a thousand tongues,
A throat of brass, and adamantine lungs.”

The illustrious GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on the 11th (by the alteration of the stile, now the 22d) of February, 1732, at the parish of Washington, in Westmoreland county in Virginia. His ancestors, for many preceding generations, were also natives of that State.

Such was his martial ardour, that at the age of fifteen years he was entered as midshipman on board a British man of war, then stationed at Virginia : but the entreaties of a fond mother induced him to retract his purpose.

He was appointed to a military command before he attained his twentieth year. In 1753, when he was little more than twenty-one years of age, reports having been made of encroachments by the French from Canada, on the British colonial territory, he was sent with full powers to ascertain the facts, treat with the Indians, and warn the French to desist from their aggressions. This mission he performed in the most perfect manner. His journals and report, which were published, announced to the world that correctness of mind, manliness in style, and accuracy of mode in doing business, which have since characterized him in the conduct of more arduous affairs.

His whole conduct, until peace was restored to the middle colonies, (during which period he sustained the rank of Colonel) particularly at the time of Braddock's defeat, gained him the approbation of Great-Britain, and the applause of his country.

In 1759, an inveterate pulmonary complaint compelled him to resign his commission.

His health being gradually re-established, he married the present amiable LADY WASHINGTON, and settled as a planter and farmer, on his estate at Mount Vernon, being his paternal inheritance.

After he left the army, until 1775, he cultivated the arts of peace. He was constantly a member of Assembly, a magistrate of the peace, and a judge of the Court.

He was elected a delegate of the first Congress in 1774, as well as to that of the succeeding year.

This eventful period, this memorable epoch in the history of mankind, seemed destined by Heaven for the full display of those talents and virtues, which have since excited the admiration of the wise and good, and astonished the world.

When our country, impelled by the extravagant claims and imperious conduct of Great-Britain, was necessitated to resort to arms in her defence, the people, by their delegates in Congress, unanimously elected this illustrious man to the supreme command of the armies of United America. The modest diffidence he expressed, on his acceptance of this high and important trust, can only be equalled by the unrivalled heroism and persevering fortitude with which it was executed. Many volumes must be read, to form an adequate idea of the almost insuperable difficulties and perils he had to encounter in the arduous struggle. To form, to train and discipline a raw and inexperienced army, without any or very slender resources, and enable them to withstand, much more, successfully to contend with, the most formidable power on earth, seemed to require more than the labours of a Hercules, the patience of a martyr, or the wisdom of an angel. To what straits, what difficulties, what discouragements, was he not sometimes reduced ! How often did he appear almost wholly deserted, by Congress and the States, from necessity ; by his army, from various causes ! With often but a handful, as it were, of men, opposed to a numerous army of veteran troops, did he, with the most consummate prudence, skill and address, preserve that handful, and extricate himself from all his embarrassments. Nay, in the greatest exigencies, the most desperate situations, his fortitude increased, his

enterprising genius and unconquerable spirit seemed to acquire fresh vigour. Princeton and Trenton will remain eternal monuments of this truth !

At those gloomy times, when the confidence and hopes of our firmest and most undaunted patriots almost wholly forsook them, HIS, like the pillars of heaven, remained firm and unshaken.

What a variety, what a weight of cares, during an eight years war, lay heavy on him !

Did he not waste the midnight lamp, that we might enjoy repose ? Yes ; countless nights, while a whole continent has been sunk in the balmy embraces of sleep, like the watchful guardian of Israel, HIS eyes have neither slumbered nor slept : but the morning sun has risen on his nocturnal labours for our safety. His *pen*, like his *sword*, was continually devoted to the service of his country ; and the immense and voluminous labours of the former, though well known to be the productions of his single pen, the fact will, I fear, be considered by posterity as incredible fiction. But,

To recount all the plans by his wisdom contriv'd,
Or the deeds by his conduct and valour achiev'd,
Were to number the gems that heaven's concave adorn,
The sands on the shore, or the dew-drops of morn.

At length, the long wished-for period of his military labours arrived. In 1783, peace was concluded between the two contending nations. But did HE, like other great conquerors, demand large compensations, immense emoluments, for his invaluable services ? No ; he adhered to his original, declared purpose ; he refused even the smallest. Or did he, like Cesar, after vanquishing his country's foes, turn his conquering arms against that country ? Far, far otherwise. Before the great Council of our nation the patriot hero appeared, and, in the presence of numerous admiring spectators, resigned his victorious sword into the hands of those who gave it.

August spectacle ! glorious example ! For my own part, I never contemplate it, but each fibre vibrates

with rapture, and the vital current trembles through every artery of my frame !

With the benedictions of a grateful country, he retired to private life.

When it was found indispensably necessary to call a Convention for the purpose of framing a *new* Constitution of the general government, from the utter insufficiency of the *old* for national purposes, this great man once more stepped forth into public life. He was unanimously elected President, being a delegate of that Convention which framed our present happy Constitution ; and on its ratification by the States, was unanimously and repeatedly elected President of the United States.

During an administration of eight years, he evinced himself to be as great in the cabinet, as he had before proved himself to be in the field. The accomplished statesman, and the unconquerable warrior, shone with equal lustre.

By the terror of his name, he suppressed a most daring insurrection. He defeated the vile arts of Genet by his wisdom, and caused him to be recalled. He detected and defeated, by his vigilance, a traitorous conspiracy, and removed the traitor. By his consummate wisdom and prudence, he preserved our neutrality with the European powers, and prevented a second war with Great-Britain. By his inflexible firmness, he maintained the balance of the constitutional powers of government, and repelled with dignity an encroachment attempted by the legislative on the executive department.

His various speeches to Congress, like all his other writings, are replete with the most profound political knowledge and useful instruction. They may be read with perpetual improvement and delight. They are a perfect model of fine writing, an honour to our country, and an ornament to the English language.

His address to the people of America, on his retiring from the cares of government, is one of the most

invaluable legacies ever left to a people. It has been celebrated in Europe, and compared to that bequeathed by Moses to the nation of Israel. But of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Here we might have supposed his career of glory was ended ; that his measure of fame was filled to the brim. But Heaven thought otherwise. The aggressions of France roused our national government to provide for our defence. An army, as well as navy, was indispensable ; and the President, with the unanimous concurrence of the Senate, appointed this venerable hero, once more, to the supreme command of the armies of America.

This appointment was the general wish and expectation. The acceptance only was doubted. Hopes and fears alternately possessed every bosom. Our fears were at length dispelled, and universal joy succeeded, and thrilled in every heart. What a spectacle ! A venerable hero, in the zenith of glory ; in full possession of more fame than the proudest ambition ever attained, or even aspired after ; all the honours that his country, mankind, or posterity, had to bestow ; again embarking in the tempestuous ocean of public life, to risque the doubtful chance of war, and, at an advanced period of life, put to hazard that fame and those honours he had spent a whole life in acquiring. This was greatness ; this was patriotism indeed ! And Heaven indulged its favourite to add this last wreath to his earthly crown, before he put on the brighter diadem of immortal glory.

The private virtues of this great man exactly corresponded with those exhibited in public life.

His mansion was the seat of hospitality. He was idolized by his domestics ; by his neighbours and friends, esteemed and venerated : and it is worthy of remark, that all who best knew him, particularly those who were more immediately attached to his person in the course of the war, and during his civil administration, are among his warmest admirers and panegyrists.

There was a gravity and reserve, indeed, in his countenance and deportment, partly natural, and partly the effect of habitual cares for the public weal : but these were wholly unmixed with the least austerity or moroseness.

True native dignity was happily blended with the most placid mildness and condescension. He was a pattern of moderation, meekness, and self-possession. No person ever existed, that had all his passions under more complete control.

To him mild candour, sense and worth were given,
" And every other virtue under heaven."

To crown all these moral virtues, he had the deepest sense of religion impressed on his heart ; the true foundation-stone of all the moral virtues. This he constantly manifested on all proper occasions. He was a firm believer in the Christian religion ; and, at his first entrance on his civil administration, he made it known, and adhered to his purpose, that no secular business could be transacted with him on the day set apart by Christians for the worship of the Deity.

Though he was, from principle, a member of the Episcopal church, he was candid and liberal in the highest degree, not only to all sects and denominations of Christians, but to all religions, where the professors were sincere, throughout the world.

He constantly attended the public worship of God on the LORD'S day, was a communicant at HIS table, and, by his devout and solemn deportment, inspired every beholder with some portion of that awe and reverence for the Supreme Being, of which he felt so large a portion.

For my own part, I trust I shall never lose the impression made on my own mind, in beholding, in this house of prayer, the venerable hero, the victorious leader of our hosts, bending in humble adoration to the God of armies, and great Captain of our salvation ! Hard and unfeeling indeed must that heart be,

that could sustain the fight unmoved, or its owner depart unsoftened and unedified.

Let the deist reflect on this, and remember that WASHINGTON, the saviour of his country, did not disdain to acknowledge and adore a greater Saviour, whom deists and infidels affect to slight and despise.

Thus have I attempted, with trembling hand and overburthened heart, to exhibit a few brief sketches of the life, and to delineate a faint portrait of the character, of this unrivalled hero, sage, and Christian. None will think the picture overstrained, or charge me with flattering the dead. Alas ! the admirable original is far removed above all earthly praise or censure. And tell me, my audience, have you ever heard or read of any character, ancient or modern, in all respects comparable to this wonderful man's, whose loss has filled a world with tears ? I could almost venture to pronounce, that all antiquity cannot boast a parallel ; unless, perhaps, the great legislator of the Jewish nation may be deemed an exception.

In contemplating the lives and characters of these two eminent servants of the Most High, I think I can trace no inconsiderable resemblance between them. Will you indulge me, while I attempt a parallel between the leader of the armies of Israel, and the leader of the armies of America ?

Did the former appear destined by Heaven to make a nation great, independent and happy ? So did the latter. Did the former give early presages of this, in defending his countrymen against lawless violence and oppression ? We have seen that the latter did the same. Was the former an invincible hero, a wise legislator, an able statesman, and an upright judge ? All these characters as truly belonged to the latter. Did the leader of the hosts of Israel deliver that nation from Egyptian bondage ? So did WASHINGTON ours, from the galling yoke of British tyranny. Was the former an early and shining example of piety and all the moral virtues ? So was the latter. Did the former blend

uncommon meekness with undaunted bravery and the most persevering fortitude? Our leader and guide, in the most eminent degree, did the same.

Was the meek prophet of Israel but once provoked to *act* with rashness at Sinai's base, and once to *speak* unadvisedly at the rock of Oreb? Our patient hero did only the latter once on the plains of Monmouth. Was the former often rashly censured by some of his perverse countrymen? How far the parallel holds just here, let others determine. Was the former found faithful in all things? Equally so was the latter. After rescuing a nation from slavery, did the former lead them to the very borders of the promised land? WASHINGTON did more; he put us into the full possession of the heritage of our fathers. Did the former demand or receive no compensation for his invaluable services? So neither did the disinterested patriot of America. At the close of his days, was the Hebrew leader unimpaired and vigorous in all his faculties? Our benefactor and father was equally so, except that his corporeal optics were dimmed by incessant labours and nocturnal vigils, while his mental vision, as if purged with "euphrasy and rue," was strengthened and refined.

In one instance the parallel seems to fail. The former was blessed with offspring. Those tender pledges of connubial bliss were indeed denied to the latter; yet weeping millions in him have lost a father; while he has obtained "a name far better than that of sons and of daughters."

Finally, did that eminent leader of the chosen seed, having finished his course with joy, die honoured by God, beloved of man, and universally lamented? So has the leader whose loss we are called upon this day with heart-felt anguish to deplore.

How sudden, how unexpected was the fatal stroke! With swiftest speed the deadly arrow flew, ere his grateful country could breathe one pious vow to Heaven for his preservation! Otherwise than sudden

it could not have been, if vows can change the purposes of the Almighty. Had the dreadful tidings of thy danger, O beloved of Heaven! but timely reached our ears, the fervent, united prayers of a whole empire had arrested the fatal shaft, and propitious Heaven still lent thee, to bless thy country and mankind!

But though sudden and unexpected to *us*, death could never to *him* be premature; and the excruciating pangs he sustained with such manly and heroic (though accustomed) fortitude, during his short illness, forbid a wish that his life should have been protracted with those pangs for a moment.

Methinks, O inhabitant of brighter worlds! I behold thy sublime spirit released from its corporeal shackles, borne on the wings of seraphs to the paradise of eternal bliss; there to receive a joyful foretaste of that immensely glorious reward that awaits it at the resurrection of the just.

Hail then, illustrious shade! immortal spirit, hail! Whether man or angel, the difference is not great! And thou precious dust, rest thou in hope, for thou too shalt shortly hear the voice of the SON of GOD and live! Thou shalt come forth from thy sleeping mansion, not that frail, mortal body, so often worn with fatigue in the service of thy country; but a bright, celestial form, fit habitation for thy immortal spirit, and “fashioned like unto the glorious body of the SON of GOD,” to be once more united in bonds indissoluble; to walk with angels, “high in salvation and the climes of bliss;” there to shine forever with distinguished and pre-eminent splendour among the blessed, even though “the righteous shall shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.”

The sacred historian informs us, that the whole nation of Israel wept for Moses thirty days. Many of those who had reviled him in his life time, probably wept with increasing bitterness at his death. And can we restrain the grateful tear for the loss our country

and the world have sustained? a loss which ages cannot repair? Shall we not cherish the memory of this excellent man, our benefactor, guide, and father! not thirty days only, but till the last pulse of life shall cease to throb; and teach our children, and they theirs, to list his venerable name, to read his martial exploits, and reverence and copy his godlike virtues? That the name of WASHINGTON may be remembered with new and ever-increasing honours, to the latest posterity!

Shall not the fair daughters of America too, whose softer bosoms and more susceptible hearts are better attuned to tender sympathy than ours; shall they not join in the general grief? The daughters of Israel were called upon, by the royal bard and eulogist of their departed king, to "weep over Saul." And have not you, my fair audience, infinitely greater cause to lament the loss of this more than king? The former indeed had his virtues, but they were clouded and eclipsed by his vices. But the virtues of the latter, like purest gold, were unalloyed, and of a nobler kind. "Saul," we are told, "clothed them in scarlet, with other (gaudy) delights." But WASHINGTON adorned you in the robe of freedom! and to shield your defenceless innocence from lawless rage and brutal violence, "he was swifter than an eagle, he was stronger than a lion!" Let heaven-born gratitude, then, fill every gentler bosom; and O! embalm his sacred memory with your softest tears!

Next to the beloved partner of his bosom, (in whose deep affliction a world will participate!) all ranks, orders and degrees, are deeply interested in this distressing calamity—from the sublime personage who now so ably guides the helm of state, to the humblest labourer that toils, or the still humbler mendicant that asks for his daily bread. As is the cause, so let the sighs of wo be universal through the land. But, alas! to recal him back to earth, our loudest cries of wo are unavailing; and fully to display his matchless worth, inadequate our highest praises!

Yet the spontaneous effusions of genuine sorrow will relieve our overburthened hearts, soften and better them ; and the tribute of praise and gratitude is, alas ! all we have to bestow ! To evince the sincerity of these, the most effectual way is to attend to his admonitions, to obey all his counsels. They are to be found in that excellent address, that precious legacy, before mentioned. Let this be our oracle ; let us read and study it day and night. In the language of inspiration, "Let us bind it about our necks, and engrave it on the tablet of our hearts."

In this invaluable gift, among a variety of other excellent precepts, suffer me to remind you of a few.

He most affectionately cautions his countrymen against all immoderate attachments to some, and violent antipathies against other nations. He recommends harmony and liberal intercourse with all, at the same time that he deprecates too close a connexion with any. He exhorts to obedience and submission to government, and a generous confidence in our rulers, whom we ourselves have chosen ; while he warns against all combinations, whether open or covert, that tend to weaken government, or to lessen the authority of those who administer it. He inculcates the practice of justice, good faith, temperance and economy, with all the moral virtues ; and of religion emphatically, as the basis and foundation of them all. He exhorts us, to the utmost of our power, to cultivate peace with every nation on earth ; and as the surest means to preserve it, strongly urges the necessity of maintaining the best state of defence in our power, both by sea and land. But, above all, he exhorts to union among ourselves—between States and among individuals. On this, he assures us, our prosperity, nay, our very existence as a nation, depends.

Is the counsel good ? Let us follow it. Are these admonitions wise ? We will obey them. Thus shall we best prove the sincerity of our gratitude to their author, and fully evidence our veneration for his memory. But if we disregard and disobey them,

what are we but hypocrites, or self-deceivers? Obedience will lead us to the highest pinnacle of national glory. A contrary conduct will dishonour, though it cannot injure, our greatest benefactor, and end in irremediable ruin. "If we are wise, we shall be wise for ourselves, but if we scorn, we alone shall bear it."

The present general union among all parties, in paying these last solemn honours to the memory of our deceased friend and father, is a proof that we can unite in some things; O! "'twere a consummation devoutly to be wished," could we but harmonize in all! Then (if departed spirits are permitted to hold converse with earth) with what pleasing emotions would WASHINGTON behold the sight?

"This, this, e'en now, above yon starry pole,
Would touch with transport his immortal soul."

This, my fellow-citizens, is the only effectual way to testify the sincerity of our grief, the fervency of our gratitude, and the profound veneration we feel for the character and memory of this excellent person. Nay, by our union we shall add to his glory! For it may then be said of the illustrious hero of America, as it was of the self-devoted victim at Gaza, the renowned champion of Israel, herculean Samson, that he achieved more for his country at his death, than in all his life before he had been able to accomplish.

But the theme overpowers me—I sink beneath it!
A thousand tender, grateful ideas rush upon my soul!
My nerves refuse their support!

O, WASHINGTON! thy country's boast and pride,
In ev'ry scene of wo and peril try'd;
Thou seest (though thron'd above yon starry spheres)
An empire bleeding, and a world in tears!
Kindly look down! O, mitigate our woes!
And soothe thy weeping country to repose!
O, look from Sion's consecrated hill,
And be Columbia's guardian angel still!
For sure, if aught below the thrones above
Can touch thy spirit, 'tis thy country's love!
Revive those counsels thou didst here impart,
And grave the heav'nly precepts on each heart.
Instruct us where our truest interest lies,
And lift COLUMBIA's glory to the skies!
Till heav'nly hosts, with earth's vast tribes, agree
Thy precepts made us HAPPY, GREAT and FREE.

An Oration

UPON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON,
Delivered at the Request of the Corporation of the City of
NEW-YORK,

On the 31st of December, 1799.

BY *GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.*

Sed quisnam merito divinas Carmine Laudes
Concipere, aut tanto par queat esse Viro?

AUREL. BRAND.

AMERICANS,

ASSEMBLED to pay the last dues of filial piety to him who was the father of his country, it is meet that we take one last look at the man whom we have lost forever.

Born to high destinies, he was fashioned for them by the hand of nature. His form was noble—his port majestic. On his front were enthroned the virtues which exalt, and those which adorn the human character. So dignified his deportment, no man could approach him but with respect—None was great in his presence. You all have seen him, and you all have felt the reverence he inspired; it was such, that to command, seemed in him but the exercise of an ordinary function, while others felt a duty to obey, which (anterior to the injunctions of civil ordinance, or the compulsion of a military code) was imposed by the high behests of nature.

He had *every* title to command—Heaven, in giving him the higher qualities of the soul, had given also the tumultuous passions which accompany greatness, and frequently tarnish its lustre. With them was his first contest, and his first victory was over himself. So

great the empire he had there acquired, that calmness of manner and of conduct distinguished him through life. Yet, those who have seen him strongly moved, will bear witness that his wrath was terrible; they have seen boiling in his bosom, passion almost too mighty for man; yet, when just bursting into act, that strong passion was controlled by his stronger mind.

Having thus a perfect command of himself, he could rely on the full exertion of his powers, in whatever direction he might order them to act. He was therefore clear, decided, and unembarrassed by any consideration of himself. Such consideration did not even dare to intrude on his reflections. Hence it was, that he beheld not only the affairs that were passing around him, but those also in which he was personally engaged, with the coolness of an unconcerned spectator. They were to him as events historically recorded. His judgment was always clear, because his mind was pure. And seldom, if ever, will a sound understanding be met with in the company of a corrupt heart.

In the strength of judgment lay, indeed, one chief excellence of his character. Leaving to feebler minds that splendour of genius, which, while it enlightens others, too often dazzles the possessor; he knew how best to use the rays which genius might emit, and carry into act its best conceptions.

So modest, he wished not to attract attention, but observed in silence, and saw deep into the human heart. Of a thousand propositions he knew to distinguish the best; and to select among a thousand the man most fitted for his purpose. If ever he was deceived in his choice, it was by circumstances of social feeling which did honour to his heart. Should it, therefore, in the review of his conduct, appear that he was merely not infallible, the few errors which fell to his lot, as a man, will claim the affections of his fellow men. Pleased with the rare, but graceful weakness, they will admire that elevation of soul, which, superior to resentment, gave honour and power, with liberal hand, to those by

whom he had been offended. Not to conciliate a regard, which, if it be venal, is worth no price; but to draw forth in your service the exercise of talents, which he could duly estimate, in spite of incidents by which a weaker mind would have been thrown from its bias.

In him were the courage of a soldier, the intrepidity of a chief, the fortitude of a hero. He had given to the impulsions of bravery all the calmness of his character, and, if in the moment of danger, his manner was distinguishable from that of common life, it was by superior ease and grace.

To each desire he had taught the lessons of moderation. Prudence became therefore the companion of his life. Never in the public, never in the private hour did she abandon him even for a moment. And, if in the small circle, where he might safely think aloud, she should have slumbered amid convivial joy, his quick sense of what was just, and decent, and fit, stood ever ready to awaken her at the slightest alarm.

Knowing how to appreciate the world, its gifts and glories, he was truly wise. Wise also in selecting the objects of his pursuit. And wise in adopting just means to compass honourable ends.

Bound by the sacred ties of wedded love, his high example strengthened the tone of public manners. Beloved, almost adored by the amiable partner of his toils and dangers, who shared with him the anxieties of public life, and sweetened the shade of retirement, no fruit was granted to their union. No child to catch with pious tenderness the falling tear, and soothe the anguish of connubial affliction. No living image remains to her of his virtues, and she must seek them sorrowing in the grave. Who shall arraign, O God! thy high decree? Was it in displeasure, that to the father of his country thou hadst denied a son? Was it in mercy, lest the paternal virtues should have triumphed (during some frail moment) in the patriot bosom? AMERICANS! he had no child—BUT YOU,—and HE WAS ALL YOUR OWN.

Let envy come forward if she dare, and seek some darkened spot in this sun of our glory. From the black catalogue of crimes envy herself must speak him free. Had he (a mortal) the failings attached to man? Was he the slave of avarice? No. Wealth was an object too mean for his regard. And yet economy presided over his domestic concerns; for his mind was too lofty to brook dependence. Was he ambitious? No. His spirit soared beyond ambition's reach. He saw a crown high above all human grandeur. He sought, he gained, and wore *that* crown. But he had indeed one frailty—the weakness of great minds. He was fond of fame, and had reared a colossal reputation. It stood on the rock of his virtue. This was dear to his heart. There was but one thing dearer. He loved glory, but still more he loved his country. That was the master passion, and, with resistless might, it ruled his every thought, and word, and deed.

We see him stepping, as it were from his cradle, into the fields of glory, and meriting the public confidence, at a period when others too often consume in idleness the moments lent for instruction, or (in pursuit of pleasure) waste their moral energies. While yet his cheek was covered with the down of youth, he had combined the character of an able negociator with that of a gallant soldier. Scarce had he given this early pledge of future service, when he was called on for the quick performance; he accompanies to the western wilds, Braddock, who, bred in camps of European war, despised the savage. But soon entrapped in the close ambush, military skill becomes of no avail. The leaders, selected by unerring aim, first fall—the troops lie thick in slaughtered heaps, the victims of an invisible foe. WASHINGTON, whose warnings had been neglected, still gives the aid of salutary counsel to his ill-fated chief, and urges it with all the grace of eloquence, and all the force of conviction. A form so manly draws the attention of the savage, and is doomed to perish. The murdering instruments are levelled;

the quick bolts fly winged with death, and pierce his garments ; but, obedient to the sovereign will, they dare not shed his blood. Braddock falls at his feet ; and the youthful hero covers with his brave Virginians, the retreat of Britons, not less brave, but surprised by unusual war.

These bands of brothers were soon to stand in hostile opposition. Such was the decree of HIM to whom are present all the revolutions of time and empire. When no hope remained but in the field of blood, WASHINGTON was called on by his country to lead her armies. In modest doubt of his own ability, he submitted with reluctance to the necessity of becoming her chief ; and took on him the weight, the care and the anguish of a civil war. *Ambition* would have tasted here the sweets of power, and drunk deep of intoxicating draughts, but to the *patriot*, these sweets are bitterness.

Industrious, patient, persevering, he remained at the head of citizens scarcely armed ; and, sparing of blood, by skill, rather than by force, compelled his foe to seek a more favourable theatre of war. And now all hope of union lost, America (by her declaration of independence) cut the last slender thread of connexion.

She had hitherto been successful ; but was soon shaken by adverse storms. The counsel of her Chief had been neglected. His army had been raised by annual enlistment. The poor remnant of accumulated defeat, retreating before an enemy flushed with success, and confident in all superiority, looked with impatience to the approaching term of service. The prospect was on all sides gloomy ; and sunshine friends (turning their halcyon beaks to fairer skies) sought shelter from the storm. But though betrayed by fortune, his calm and steady mind remained true to itself. Winter had closed the campaign. Solacing in the enjoyment of what their arms had acquired, the victors tasted pleasure unalloyed by the dread of danger. They were sheltered behind one of the broad barriers of nature,

and, safely housed, beheld upon its farther shore, a feeble adversary, exposed beneath the canopy of heaven to the rigours of an unpitying season. It was hoped that, their term of enlistment expired, the American troops would disperse; and the Chief, in despair, throw up his command. Such was the reasoning, and such reasoning would, in ordinary cases, have been conclusive. But that Chief was WASHINGTON! He shews to his gallant comrades the danger of their country, and asks the aid of patriotic service. At his voice their hearts beat high. In vain the raging Delaware, vexed with the wintry blast, forbids their march. In vain he rolls along his rocky bed, a frozen torrent, whose ponderous mass threatens to sweep the soldier from his uncertain footstep, and bear him down the flood! In vain the beating snow adds to the dangerous ford a darkened horror! Difficulties and dangers animate the brave. His little band is arrived; WASHINGTON is within the walls—the enemy is subdued!

Fortune now smiles; but who can trust to that fallacious smile? Preparations are already made to punish the American Leader for his adventurous hardihood. And now he sees, stretched out before him in wide array, a force so great that in the battle there is no hope. Behind him the impassable stream cuts off retreat. Already from his brazen throat the cannon gives loud summons to the field. But the setting sun leaves yet a dreary night to brood over approaching ruin. The earth is shrouded in the veil of darkness; and now the illustrious Chief takes up his silent march, and in wide circuit leads his little band around the unwary foe. At the dawn, his military thunders tell them their reserve posted far in the rear, is in the pounces of the American Eagle. They hasten back to revenge; but he has already secured his advantage, and (by a well chosen position) confines them to inglorious repose. The armies now rest from their toil. But for him there is no rest. His followers claim the double right of returning to their homes, and he stands almost alone. He

dares not ask for aid, lest the enemy, emboldened by the acknowledgment of weakness, should dissipate his shadow of an army. Nothing remains but to intimidate by the appearance of a force, which does not exist; and hide from his own troops their great inferiority. Both are effected by skill rarely equalled—never excelled.

Scarce hath the advancing season brought forward a few recruits, when he begins offensive operations. His enemy, foiled in each attempt to advance, is compelled to ask from the ocean some safer road to conquest. The propitious deep receives on his broad bosom the invading host, and bids his obedient billows bear them to some shore, where they may join the advantage of surprise with those of number, discipline, and appointments. The hope is vain! WASHINGTON had penetrated their views, and stands before them! He is unfortunate. Defeated, not subdued, he leads on again to new attack. The half-gained victory, snatched from his grasp, at the head of an inferior, twice-beaten army, he passes the long winter in an open field, within one day's march of his foe.

Here he was doomed to new difficulties, and dangers unknown before. Faction had reared (in the American councils) her *accursed* head, and laboured to remove him from the command. That measure would at once have disbanded his affectionate troops—the country around them was exhausted. He had no means to clothe or feed his army—none to change their position. Many perished; each day the numbers were alarmingly diminished, and reinforcement was dangerous, because it might increase the famine. Under these circumstances, a new system of organization and discipline was to be formed, introduced, and enforced, while the foldier could seldom obtain even his poor pittance of depreciated paper.—

—————“ Who then hath seen
The gallant leader of that ruined band,
Let him cry praise and glory on his head.”

It was in the solitary walk of night—it was in the bosom of friendship that he could alone unburthen himself, of the vast wo which weighed upon his heart—Here was indeed no common nor vulgar care. Honour—Liberty—his Country, stood on the dangerous margin of uncertain fate, and no human eye could pierce the dark cloud which hung upon futurity.

From this black night of gloomy apprehension, broke forth the sun of golden, glorious Hope! A mighty monarch had connected his fortunes with those of America. In her defence the flag of France was unfurled, and gratitude hailed the sixteenth Louis, protector of the rights of mankind. His powerful interference took off from what remained of the war, all reasonable doubt as to the final event. After a varied scene of adverse and prosperous circumstances, that event arrived, and a solemn treaty acknowledged your independence.

Great was the joy and high the general expectation, for the political state of America was not duly considered. Her band of federal union had been woven by the hand of distrust. The different States had been held together, in no small degree, by the external pressure of war. That pressure removed, they might fall asunder. There existed various causes of discontent, which the intrigues of European policy might ripen into disgust. Those who shared in the public counsels were filled, therefore, with deep apprehension. The army, taught by years of painful experience, became a prey to sinister forebodings. Connected by the endearing ties of soldierly brotherhood, these gallant sons of freedom anticipated with horror the moment when they might be called on to unsheathe their swords against each other; and pour, in impious libation, the purest of their blood upon the altars of civil war. Some of the more ardent spirits, smarting from the past, and fearing for the future, had formed a wish, that the army might be kept together, and, by its appearance, accelerate the adoption of an efficient government. The sen-

timent was patriotic—the plan of doubtful complexion—the success uncertain ; but the prospect was fair if the CHIEF could be engaged.

He knew their wrongs ! He knew their worth ! He felt their apprehensions ! They had strong claims upon him, and those claims were strongly urged. Supreme power, with meretricious charms, courted his embrace ; and was clothed, to seduce him, in the robes of justice. If, therefore, ambition had possessed a single corner of his heart, he might have deliberated. But he was ever loyal. He bid a last adieu to the companions of his glory, and laid all his laurels at the feet of his country !

His fame was now complete, and it was permitted him to hope for ease in dignified retirement. Vain hope ! The defects of the federal compact are soon too deeply felt not to be generally acknowledged. America directs a revision by persons of her choice. He is their President. It is a question, previous to the first meeting, what course shall be pursued. Men of decided temper, who, devoted to the public, overlooked prudential considerations, thought a form of government should be framed entirely new. But cautious men, with whom popularity was an object, deemed it fit to consult and comply with the wishes of the people. AMERICANS ! let the opinion then delivered by the greatest and best of men, be ever present to your remembrance. He was collected within himself. His countenance had more than usual solemnity ; his eye was fixed, and seemed to look into futurity. “ It is (said he) too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work ? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.” This was the patriot voice of WASHINGTON ; and this the constant tenor of his conduct. With this deep sense of duty, he gave to our Constitution his cordial assent ; and has added the fame of a legislator to that of a hero.

Again, in the shade of retirement, he seeks repose ; but is called, by unanimous voice, to be the first magistrate of the United States. Scarce are the wheels of government in motion, when he is struck by the view of that enormous revolution which still torments and terrifies the earth. The flames of war were spread throughout Europe, and threatened to waste the globe. The delegated incendiaries found America filled with inflammable matter. All the bad passions, with some that were good, stimulated her to engage in the contest. But the President, still calm, discerning, and true to your truest interest, proclaimed, observed, and maintained an exact neutrality. In vain was he assailed from abroad ; in vain solicited, excited, urged, by those around him. He stood immoveable ! Vain also were the clamours of mistaken zeal, the dark efforts of insidious faction, and the foul voice of mercenary slander. You have all lately seen his firm administration, and all now enjoy the rich result of his inflexible wisdom.

Though he still turned with fond desire towards his domestic shade, he never left the helm during the fury of the storm ; but remained till he had the well-founded expectation, that America might enjoy PEACE, FREEDOM, and SAFETY ; and then at last he claims the right of age. A venerable veteran, in all honourable service, having consecrated to his country the spirit of youth, the strength of manhood, and the ripe experience of laborious years, he asks repose. His body, broken with toil, must rest——No. He is called forth again ; again must he gird on his sword, and prepare for the battle ! And see ! fresh in renewed vigour, he decks his hoary head with nodding plumes of war, and mounts the barbed steed. With countenance erect and firm, his eagle eye measures the lengthened file. Wonderful man ! he seems immortal----O no, no, no ! this our pride, our glory, is gone ; he is gone forever !

But yet his spirit liveth. Hail, happy shade ! The broad shield of death is thrown before thy fame. Nev-

er shall the polluted breath of slander blow upon thine ashes. We will watch with pious care the laurels which shade thy urn, and wear thy name engraven on our hearts. O! yet protect thy country!—Save her! She is an orphan—Her father is mingled with the dust.

No! HE LIVETH—HE SHALL LIVE FOREVER! And when the latest of your children's children shall pronounce his dear, his sacred name, their eyes shall be suffused with the tear of GRATITUDE and LOVE.

An Eulogy

ON THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Written at the Request of the Citizens of *NEWBURYPORT*,
and delivered at the first Presbyterian Meeting-House in that Town,

JANUARY 2, 1800.

BY *THOMAS PAINE, A. M.*

"O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention !
An empire for a stage, heroes to act,
And angels to behold the swelling scene !
Then should the MIGHTY SHADE again assume
His local habitation, and his name,
Mantling our sphere with his supernal glory !
Virtue and Fame should pioneer his way
Through planets wonder-struck ; while at his heels
Valour and Victory (leasht in like hounds)
Crouch for employment !"

AMERICANS,

THE saviour of your country has obtained his last victory. Having reached the summit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. CONQUEROR OF TIME, he has triumphed over mortality ; LEGATE OF HEAVEN, he has returned with the tidings of his mission ; FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE, he has ascended to advocate their cause in the bosom of his God. Solemn, "as it were a pause in nature," was his transit to eternity ; thronged by the shades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliss ; pæaned by the song of angels, his journey beyond the stars !

The voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—"first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

That this exalted tribute is justly due to his memory, the scar-honoured veteran, who has fought under the banners of his glory, the enraptured statesman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whose soil has been defended by the prodigies of his valour, the protected citizen, whose peaceful rights have been secured by the vigilance of his wisdom ; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will attest with agonized sensibility.

Born to direct the destiny of empires, his character was as majestic, as the events, to which it was attached, were illustrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of calumny obscure. His principles were the result of organic philosophy ; his success, of moral justice. His integrity assumed the port of command ; his intelligence, the aspect of inspiration. Glory, to *many* impregnable, he obtained without ambition ; popularity, to *all* inconstant, he enjoyed without jealousy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embellished, but could not reward ; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robust vigour of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the eagle, was inaccessible to human weakness ; and the unaspiring temperament of his passions, like the regenerating ashes of the phoenix, gave new life to the greatness it could not extinguish. In the imperial dignity of his person, was exhibited the august stature of his mind :

" See what a grace was seated on his brow,
An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himself,
A combination, and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man !" *

Oppressed by the disconsolate sensibilities, which this melancholy occasion has excited, yet inspired by a ven-

* Shakespear.

eration which no sense of calamity can suspend, how shall the feeble eulogist of the moment retrace the path of the hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame ; how shadow the outlines of a life, whose influence on society has baffled the imitation of the wise ; how define the great proportions of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be described by its effects ? What wing of human description shall soar to the unclouded height of his talents ; what chemistry of human judgment shall separate the elements of his virtues ? The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy ; and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deductions of reason.

From his first appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modest simplicity of enterprise had invited the decorations of artificial honour, ere the "hair-breadth escapes" of the *Monongahela* had elicited the native energies of heroism, to the maturest era of his excellence, when victory had nothing left to bestow, and Fame herself had despaired of rendering to his merits their equivalent reward ; we behold the same undeviating course of magnanimous action, rising, like the sun, in gradual and majestic progression. In no situation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however insulated with peril, or fortified by prosperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune, do we behold him, dejected by obstacle, or elevated by success ; desperate in danger, or sanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute ; intrepid to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulse of the patriot : in battle, he never shed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious contest, which issued in the establishment of our liberty and independence, he displayed an impressive grandeur of exertion, which marshalled into hostility the fluctu-

ating vigour of his countrymen, and is still remembered with awe in the astonishment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the disastrous campaign of BRADDOCK, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable estimation by his military prowess on that memorable occasion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was reposing under the groves of fame and philosophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntsman, that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power. The dawn of our revolution was overshadowed with clouds, that would have damped the ardour of any people, whose bosoms were not inspired by the uncontrollable enthusiasm of liberty. But what hope of success could this high-born principle, though stimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peasantry of a country, without arms, without discipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whose policy and valour had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils? Yet, at this inauspicious juncture, when every prospect was enveloped with disaster; when unsuccessful opposition could promise no reward but aggravated oppression, when political infidelity had almost chilled with dismay the kindling fervour of Americans; at this moment, so portentous, so gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unassimilating WASHINGTON, relinquish without reluctance the magnificent retirement of wealth and honour; and, committing to the hazard of the contest, the pleasures, that allured him to seclusion, and the character, that attached him to life, appealed to the GOD of armies to attest a soldier's oath—"I will triumph, or die with my countrymen!" Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the consciousness of her powers; and, realizing the boast of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative discipline, arose at his command.

Through the vicissitudes of a war, singularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and desolating in its effects, he

discovered a constant principle of action, which acquired no lustre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatness. Self-dependent, and self-elevated, it disdained the fictitious aid of circumstance ; and never did it shine with more splendour and energy, than when fortune had deserted him, and his country had despaired. The activity of a fortitude, whose stability was reason, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whose object was liberty. What but this invincible constitution of soul, whose gigantic philosophy always rose with the difficulties it encountered, could have sustained the drooping cause of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almost hopeless crisis, when the banks of the Delaware were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our subjugation ; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimsoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footsteps ; when the fate of a continent was suspended on the incredible exertions of a night, and a conspiracy of the elements opposed the progress of the eventful enterprise ? The mind, that was inaccessible to despair, was invulnerable to disaster ; and at the instant, when the fangs of our invader were unclutched to fasten on his prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the spoils of unconditional submission, the distant thunder of the cannon at *Trenton* aroused him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the resources of a WASHINGTON were not to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palsied by a campaign of disasters.

To the pen of the historian must be resigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of justice to those efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty. The vanquished foe retired from our respiring shores, and left to the CONTROLLING GENIUS, who repelled them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of

the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touchstone to his integrity, which was to assay the affinity of his principles to the standard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whose filial reverence had associated in his character, a greatness, unexampled by patriotism, with a purity, unfurrowed by suspicion, and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whose unliquidated demands, on the justice of an impoverished public, might have rendered them zealous instruments of ambition, the deliverer of his country was now the arbiter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wafted him to his haven. That decisive moment in the existence of nations and men, on which the destinies of both are suspended, was now flitting on the dial's point of the crisis. On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his services, almost invited him to empire : on the other, the liberty, to whose protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature. WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great self. His country was free ; he was no longer a General ! Sublime spectacle ! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the sovereignty of the globe united to the sceptre of ages ! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majesty of his dominion. That effulgence of military character, which in ancient States has blasted the rights of the people, whose renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero, from whom it emanated, to shine with so destructive a lustre. Its beams, though intensely resplendent, did not wither the young blossoms of our independence ; and liberty, like the *burning bush*, flourished unconsumed by the glory, which surrounded it.

To the illustrious founder of our republic was it reserved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity, that commanded victory ; of a moderation, that retired from

ON WASHINGTON.

triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whose flaming path sheds a disastrous light on the pages of history, his bright orb, eclipsing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended "fearful change" to religion, nor from its "golden tresses" shook pestilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been disgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of *Peru*, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the standard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument, to have invaded, like the ravager of *Egypt*, an innocent, though barbarous nation, to inscribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey*!

Self, the grand hinge, on which revolve the principles and passions, that have swelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which considered grandeur as the inseparable incident of rectitude; which owed to fortune nothing of its glory, to enthusiasm nothing of its virtue. From "Heaven's high chancery" had issued his commission; he obeyed the godlike precept it contained; he created a nation! The glorious work completed, so was his ambition. The reward of his labours was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation; and the boast of his pride was the cultivation of that soil he had defended from subjection. Amid the fondest caresses of fame, that pursued him to retirement, (blush, ye heroic murderers of mankind!) never did the transcendent WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatness, deign to be conscious, that by *his* talents his country was free, that in *her* glory himself was immortal!

Public opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air, that wafts it; and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of their country, has been as chequered as the passions, and perverse as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, fainted by the people he had enslaved, has

been elevated to a niche in the pantheon ; while a hero, whose talents and services had propped a falling empire, has found at last a more faithful friend in the mastiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the peculiar lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterprise, which could arrest the decisions of fortune. Through the long labours of a life, which forms an epoch in history, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen ; and to the honour of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had established their independence, existed, at the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preserved their jarring interests from a destructive collision.

The temporary structure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purposes of a revolutionary government, when the passions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had restored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniencies, resulting from its defects, had given occasion to designing demagogues, who hoped to profit by a separation of the States, to foment divisions among a people, who too lightly valued the blessings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger ; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of a partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aspiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general jurisprudence, so many distinct sovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their respective authorities ! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almost overcome the attracting power, that restrained them ; when the watchful guardian of his country's interests, the heart-uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the centre

of discord, and reconciled and consolidated the clashing particles of the system in an indissoluble union of government.

Possessing, as well from experience, as intuition, the master science, that could direct the impulses of human action ; and invested, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impressed the convictions of reason on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen ; he ruled in the councils of that august body of statesmen and patriots, the fruit of whose co-operating talents was the present Constitution of America. By the unanimous suffrage of an enlightened and confiding people, appointed to the administration of a government, in whose construction he had exerted so beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous trust, the energy of a mind, whose elevation could borrow no dignity from station, and the integrity of a heart, whose sensibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wisdom and vigour he discharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magistracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled increase of national credit and wealth, and the happiness and morality of the people, will furnish a more satisfactory evidence, than the most brilliant description of the panegyrist. In this unprecedented transition of office, his character had assumed a new and astonishing attitude ; the impenetrable hardihood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the statesman. Pierced by the glance of his administration, PARTY, like the recreant eye of the felon, shrunk abashed from his scrutiny ; and, unnerved by the sanctity of his person, DEGENERACY, like the viper at *Melita*, fell harmless from his hand. Appalled by the oppressive contemplation of his greatness, the "cloud-capt" crest of AMBITION was overawed by the majesty of virtue ; and, maddened to desperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the snakes of ENVY recoiled upon the head of their mis-

trefs, and burrowed to the brain, that supplied their venom.

EXEMPLAR OF HEROES ! in what favoured nation, or era, shall the exulting philanthropist record the existence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright constellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or beams in history ? Should we search in the archives of classic antiquity, we might find a wise and venerable FABIVS, who, like thee, could “ save a nation by delay ;” * but never, like thee, could seize victory by enterprise, and outstride fortune by the foresight of philosophy ! We might behold the majestic CINCINNATUS, who, like thee, in the vigour of Roman heroism, could return from the conquest of his country’s enemies, to his humble *Mount Vernon* beyond the *Tyber* ; but never, like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wrested from invasion ! We might trace the great JULIVS, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms, before unshadowed by their pinions ; we might follow him to the forum, and listen to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding senates instinctly moved at his control ; but *where*, in the map of *thy* victories, shall we find the banks of a *Rubicon* !

Encumbered with honours, the father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affection, followed by the tears and blessings of his fellow-citizens !—The glory, which had encircled the scenes of his action, could not be excluded by the solitude of retirement. He had de vested the insignia of command ; but his empire was not diminished. He had surrendered the badges of fame ; but the gaze of the world did not suspend its veneration. The *name* of WASHINGTON was still a battlement to his country, under whose protection liberty exulted, at whose terrors hostility trembled.

Though remote from the causes of European contest, yet affected by the convulsions it excited, in vain

* PHILENIA.

had our nation attempted to maintain with honour an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean ;— Invasion threatened our shores. Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling solicitude to her venerable deliverer ; and, *again* did this MAN WITHOUT EXAMPLE, THIS PATRIOT WITHOUT REPROACH, whose life was his country, whose glory was mankind, resign with alacrity, to the cause he had sworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repose, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils !——The character was perfect ! WASHINGTON now touched “ the highest point of all his greatness.” A more than human splendour furrounded him. The ethereal spirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and seemed to meditate their departure to their native mansion. Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but his mortality ; and, having accomplished the embassy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one nation, and the sublime instructor of all—HE TOOK HIS FLIGHT TO HEAVEN ;——not like *Mahomet*, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle ;——not like *Elijah*, for recording Time has not registered the man, *on whom his mantle should descend* ;——but in humble imitation of that OMNIPOTENT ARCHITECT, who returned from a created universe, to contemplate from his throne the stupendous fabric he had erected !

The august form, whose undaunted majesty could arrest the lightning, ere it fell on the bosom of his country, now sleeps in silent ruin, untenanted of its celestial essence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues shall survive, unimpaired by the corrosion of time ; and acquire new vigour and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires. The invaluable valediction, bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whose powers, like those of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progress of human reason, and unfold truth without the labour of investigation. Impressed in indelible

characters, this LEGACY OF HIS INTELLIGENCE will descend, unfullied as its purity, to the wonder and instruction of succeeding generations; and, should the mild philosophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no distant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the spotless splendour of his own great actions, exist in the happiness and dignity of mankind.

The sighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the SUBLIME SPIRIT to its paternal abode; and the prayers of ameliorated posterity will ascend in glowing remembrance of their illustrious benefactor! The laurels, that now droop, as they shadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages; and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the *pyramids*, and as eternal as his own imperishable virtues!

An Eulogy

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered before the Inhabitants of MEDFORD, (*Mass.*)

AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR COMMITTEE,

On the 13th of January, 1800.

BY JOHN BROOKS, A.M. M.M.S. & A.A.S.

SUSPENDING the ordinary employments of life, we, my respected friends, have entered this temple, to pay our last, sad tribute of respect to the memory of one, who was "*the first in war, the first in peace, and the first in the hearts of his countrymen.*" And how suitable is it, that we here unite to mingle our griefs, and associate our solemn obsequies, with religious rites! We thus declare to the world our veneration of wisdom, and appeal to Heaven for the sincerity of the applause we bestow on virtue.

The interjunction of public eulogies with funeral solemnities, is a practice neither novel nor unuseful. Emanating from the strength and poignance of grief for departed merit, it is the expression of an affection of the human heart, which may be beneficially indulged; and may the present occasion not only attest our sense of the irreparable loss we mourn, but lead us, individually, to such reflections as shall tend to fortify our virtues, and mend the heart.

Vain would be the attempts of the most accomplished eulogist, to do justice to a character so transcendently illustrious, as that of our late dear and much-loved WASHINGTON. What language, indeed, can portray his worth? What powers of utterance are adequate to the delineation of an image corresponding

to the life? A nation in cypress and in tears is an expressive panegyric; but his life and actions will ultimately prove his most faithful eulogium.

Since, then, the man, who was the pride of his country, and the boast of human kind, transcends our praise, let us, as a testimony of our profound respect for his memory, recur to his life and actions. In executing this pleasing, painful task, the limits of the present performance will restrain us to a brief selection of such particulars, as are most prominent and interesting.

The propitious event of the birth of GEORGE WASHINGTON happened in Virginia, on the twenty-second day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two. And so long as wisdom shall be revered, talents command respect, or virtue inspire esteem, so long will the American breast exult, that he was a native of this western world.

There being, at the proper time for his instruction, no public seminary of celebrity in that part of the country, his father committed the education of his son to the direction of private instructors. Without documents correctly to ascertain the routine of his early education, we presume it to have been such, as substantially and efficaciously to facilitate the evolution of those talents and principles, upon which the superstructure of his exalted fame was afterward erected. His animal powers aided in the execution. The son of a planter, and accustomed, from his childhood, to such occasional employments and exercises, as to ensure health and muscular strength, his person was remarkably robust and athletic. Animal powers, less firm and elastic, might, perhaps, have been insufficient to sustain the operations of so great a mind, always comprehensive in its views, incessant in its efforts, and teeming with resources. Fitted thus, equally for executing, as for projecting enterprises, we see him in youth indicating those traits of superiority, which, in after-life, became so striking and characteristic.

Hence we may account for his almost premature

advancement to offices of trust and responsibility. In the year 1753, at the age of twenty-one years, and already a Major, and Adjutant-General in the provincial service, he was deputed, by the governor of Virginia, to hold a treaty with various nations of western Indians; and was, at the same time, honoured with a mission to the commander in chief of the French on the Ohio, remonstrating against the inroads they were making on the territory of Virginia, in violation of subsisting treaties between the kings of England and France. The successful termination of this perilous and complicated embassy, through immense tracts of inhospitable deserts, merited and obtained the thanks of his country. His journal of this mission, published soon after its termination, appears to have been the first public essay of his pen, which, as is observed by his biographer, "did great credit to his industry, attention, and judgment."

The aggressions of the French were soon more manifest and daring; and he was appointed Colonel of a regiment raised in Virginia; in which rank he continued to command the troops, from his colony, until the arrival of General Braddock, from England, in the year 1755. He then resigned his command, and acted as Aid-de-Camp to that unfortunate General. A detail of his defeat will not be expected. But, from the history of that disastrous day, a strong presumption arises, that had not the haughty indocility of that European Chief rendered him deaf to the counsels of his young American Aid, he would have escaped the horrors and infamy of a defeat. All the British officers and soldiers, who survived the carnage of that fatal day, were indebted for their lives to the conduct, resolution, and valour of Colonel WASHINGTON, and a few of his faithful American friends.

From this period, resuming the command of the provincials, he continued to bear a principal part in the military arrangements and operations of the war, and displayed, on every suitable occasion, persevering industry, personal courage, and martial skill.

In the year 1759, he resigned his command of the troops, and soon became a member of the legislature of his native colony; and was as assiduous to serve his country in her councils, as he had been active to defend her in the field.

About this time he formed a conjugal connexion with the amiable and accomplished woman, now widowed and disconsolate by his death.

A cultivation of the arts of peace, however conducive and essential to the happiness of social life, is denied that applause from the world, which it so eagerly lavishes on the statesman and the soldier. For several years succeeding the peace of 1763, Colonel WASHINGTON, the farmer of Mount Vernon, paid particular attention to the cultivation of his estates, and the diffusion of agricultural improvements among the planters of Virginia. But though agriculture was receiving all the aids of his genius and taste, and the favourite seat of his residence was made to flourish like an Eden, we hear little of the future Deliverer of his Country, till the portentous lowering in the eastern hemisphere announced a speedy and tremendous irruption.

In the first Congress assembled at Philadelphia, to avert, or prepare for the impending storm, we find, on the list of those patriots and worthies, the name of WASHINGTON. But when the black tempest of civil war had burst upon our country, the eyes of the great Council of the Colonies, as well as of all those who knew his merits in the preceding war, were fixed on him, as General and Commander in Chief of the army.

The unanimous suffrage of that august body, at once, gave him that elevated, but dangerous appointment, encouraged his acceptance of it, and served as a presage to that union of councils and of force, so requisite for final and triumphant success.

After the wanton conflagration and capture of our sister Charlestown, and the untimely death of the hopeful Warren, the animating presence of a WASHINGTON, who was received by our army at Cambridge, in July,

1775, elevated the drooping spirits of the troops, then forming the tardy blockade of Boston. Without discipline, badly armed, and destitute of artillery, and every description of warlike stores, no operations against the enemy could be warrantably undertaken, until the spring of the year 1776. In consequence of the approaches, which better supplies had enabled the army to make against the enemy, General WASHINGTON, then, compelled them to abandon our capital.

This year, however, was marked by a rapid succession of trying and agonizing events. The loss of Long-Island, of the city and island of New-York, including fort Washington and its garrison; the loss of fort Lee, and the abandonment of the whole of the State of New-Jersey; our misfortunes in, and the ultimate loss of, Canada, and of the principal part of the army that invaded it; the defeat and capture of our fleet on Lake Champlain; the occurrence of two distressing and fatal epidemics, reducing and enfeebling the army; to which may be superadded, the capture of General Lee; form only a part of the dismal and dejecting series.

Those of you, my friends, who were actors on the stage at that eventful period, will recollect the gloom with which the public mind was overspread and fadened, the languor of the public pulse, and that oppressive anxiety, which the reiterated calamities of the year had induced.

But the arm of WASHINGTON, by a single bold and daring effort, resuscitated the hopes of a desponding people. The surprise and capture of the Hessians at Trenton flew, with electric speed, through the continent, thrilled through the hearts, and renovated the courage of dejected millions.

From this period, till the year 1781, the war was continued with various success; and WASHINGTON, through all its vicissitudes, maintained a virtuous empire over the affections of his countrymen.

It was within the compass of this period, however, that envy, that cankerworm of integrity and repub-

licanism, was meditating means to detach the affections of the people, and the confidence of the several governments of the country, from their beloved Chief, to pluck the laurel from his brow, and rob him of his honest, his hard-earned fame. But, happily for America, for liberty, and for humanity, the machinations of disappointed ambition were disconcerted, and the friend of the people found the people to be his friends.

During this interval, an interesting occurrence supervened, which, while it exercised his feelings as a man, evinced that correctness of judgment, that unshaken steadiness of purpose, and inflexible regard to his public duty, which exalted and characterized the man, and which, with so much justice, commanded the unlimited confidence of his country. At the defection of Arnold, every American shuddered, and virtue itself stood appalled. When the captivity of the British agent, for concerting that insidious treason, was known in their camp, every engine of insinuation, and terror, was employed, to rescue from impending fate, that, hitherto, favourite of fortune, and of the British army. But General WASHINGTON, in whom were combined the fine polish of Attic refinement, with the sternness of Spartan virtue, resisted their solicitations with address, and their menaces with firmness. And the faithful guardian of his country's safety and honour, obeying the dictates of a severe, but imposing policy, assigned the hapless Andre to the destiny of a spy.

In the year 1781, the decisive blow was given to the British military operations in the United States. The capture of lord Cornwallis, and his army, terminated the war. As this splendid event added fresh lustre to his glory, his praises, enlivening every tongue, were resounded from one extreme of an extensive empire of liberty to the other, and he was saluted as the saviour of his country.

Such is the structure, and the imbecility of the human mind, that praise is extremely prone to destroy its equilibrium. But the Aristides, as well as the Fabius of the age, neither despondent in adversity, nor elated with success, preserved a philosophical equanimity, amid the most copious effusions of encomium and panegyric : and when a Cesar would have assumed the purple, or a Cromwell usurped the protectorship, he resigned, with eagerness, the proud insignia of command, and converted the splendid weapons of war, into the humble implements of the arts of peace.

To most men in public life, at the close of the revolutionary war, it was well known that General WASHINGTON felt little confidence in the efficiency or durability of the existing form of government. On this point, his circular letter to the several States indicated his diffidence. A short lapse of time verified his apprehensions. In less than three years the confederation was annihilated. The moment was awful and perilous. But the evils of anarchy were repressed by the joint force of sentiment and habit ; and a government of energy was demanded, from New-Hampshire to Georgia. A convention of patriots, and sages, in which General WASHINGTON presided, was assembled ; and that system of government, which was administered by him for eight successive years, with so much dignity and effect, was the result of their united labours. The manner in which he fulfilled the high duties of the presidency of the United States, is known to this assembly.

As chief of the army, during the late war, General WASHINGTON became personally known to a vast proportion of the people of these States ; and his name is registered in the hearts of all. But as Chief Magistrate of the nation, being the organ of intercourse with foreign nations, his celebrity became universal ; and the name of WASHINGTON is pronounced with pleasure, and with pride, by the people of every civilized nation on earth.

Such was the man, who triumphantly led your armies in war, and presided in your councils in peace.

To fortune, every man, who, surmounting uncommon obstacles, succeeds in enterprises of magnitude and hazard, is, usually, more or less indebted. But the verity of this position we do not suffer to detract from the merit of our departed sage. Of what use are all the mines of Mexico and Peru, while latent and unexplored? Or what avail the greatest human powers, unless they are presented with objects suitable to their exercise? Utility alone consummates and stamps their value.

“Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

But opportunity, that genial sunbeam, which opens and expands the bud of every human faculty and virtue, gave ample scope for the developement of his mighty energies, and for the expansion and exercise of his manly virtues. And in comparing the actual situation of our country, its dangers, its wants, and its ultimate destination to independence, with the talents, the resources, and virtues of General WASHINGTON, we are struck with admiration and wonder at the precise and happy adaptation of one to the other.

To the sketches of his life, already so imperfectly given, his late acceptance of the command of the army must be superadded. At a time, when nature was soliciting repose, and retirement was, more than ever, an object of his ardent wishes, he was unexpectedly presented with his appointment. The moment was deemed critical and important: he felt its force; and again, sacrificing every private consideration, yielded to the wishes of an anxious public; rejecting on this, as on every similar occasion, from the commencement of the revolution, every idea of pecuniary emolument for his service.

The sequel of his life was in unison with the past. In the last solemn scene, when the wealth and the honours of the world were receding from his view,

he still acted like himself—he still was WASHINGTON. When the speedy termination of his life was announced to him, by his friend and physician, with dignified composure he awaited and welcomed the approach of death. Thus was our much loved friend, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, great in war, great in peace, great in life, and great in the moment of his dissolution.

And are the eyes of WASHINGTON closed in death? Has he, who so lately was the pride of arms, who was himself a host, fallen a prey to the fell ravager of our race? The aching heart reluctates, while it is compelled to realize the tale of wo. But, mute be every murmur—checked be every tear. What though his once manly, graceful form be now mingling with its native dust, yet WASHINGTON still lives immortal. Yes: he lives in his matchless example; he lives in those lessons of wisdom which flowed from his pen; he lives in our hearts, and in the hearts of a grateful country; he lives, transporting thought! resplendent with glory, in the realms of ceaseless day.

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,
LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Delivered at *CHARLESTON*, (S. C.) January 15, 1800,
at the Request of the Inhabitants.

BY *DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.*

IF ever any country owed to one of its citizens an incalculable debt of gratitude, that country is the United States, that citizen was the late *GEORGE WASHINGTON*. To do justice to his exalted merit, far exceeds my abilities. In making the attempt, I must surely fail, for none could succeed. I not only crave, but claim your indulgence. The task on which I am entering is of your appointment, and it is of such a delicate and arduous nature, that to its proper execution, not only my feeble powers, but the first abilities in the world would be inadequate.

On the 11th of February, 1732, Virginia had the honour of giving birth to the illustrious man, whose death we this day deplore. His ancestors migrated from England, and were among the first settlers of this first of the British provinces in America. I cannot speak from positive anecdote, what was his situation and employment for the first twenty years of his life; but I have heard, that in his youth he was remarkably grave, silent, and thoughtful, active and methodical in business, highly dignified in his appearance and manners, and strictly honourable in all his deportment.

The first public notice of him, that I have seen, was in a note to a sermon, printed in London forty-five years ago, which had been preached a short time be-

fore, in Hanover-county, Virginia, on some public occasion, by the late President Davies. In this, the preacher observed, "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope, Providence has hitherto preserved for some important service to his country." As no thought of American Independence was entertained at that early day, this observation could only have been founded in a knowledge of his talents and character. Indeed his appearance would have justified such a presentiment, for majesty and dignity were remarkably conspicuous in his countenance, and the figure of his person.

Very soon after young WASHINGTON was twenty-one years of age, he was employed by the government of Virginia, on an embassy to negotiate the removal of some French settlers from the Ohio, who had fortified themselves in the vicinity of that river, on lands claimed by the King of Great-Britain. In the execution of this trust, he travelled upwards of four hundred miles, and his route, for one half of that distance, led through pathless woods, inhabited only by savage beasts and more savage men. He was attended only by one companion, and proceeded on foot from Winchester: his negotiations failing, Virginia raised three hundred men, and put them under his command, and instructed him to proceed to the Ohio. An engagement took place, between the French and Virginians, in which the former were at first defeated; but being afterwards reinforced with nine hundred men, they reduced Colonel WASHINGTON, after making a brave defence, to the necessity of submitting to honourable terms of capitulation.

The contest, about these lands, becoming more serious, General Braddock was sent with a regular force from Great-Britain, to support the claims of his Britannic Majesty. His impetuous valour pushed him forward into an ambuscade of French and Indians, in which he was killed, and his army routed. The remains of it were rallied, and brought off in safety, un-

der the direction and by the address of Colonel WASHINGTON.

The next expedition was more successful, and restored tranquillity to the province of Virginia. When this event took place, the young citizen soldier, being no longer called to the discharge of military duty, resumed his habits of civil life, and continued therein, until a new and unexpected scene, about twenty years after, brought him forward on a much more conspicuous theatre.

In the year 1774, the British ministry completed their system for taxing their Colonies. America was roused; and, by a simultaneous impulse, formed a Congress of her most enlightened sons, to devise such measures as bid fairest to preserve her endangered liberties. To this illustrious assembly WASHINGTON was deputed, and he contributed his full proportion in forming the wise plans which were by them adopted. Great-Britain turned a deaf ear to their petitions, and proceeded to coerce the Colonies by a military force. Massachusetts being immediately attacked, had, in the first instance, embodied an army for its defence; but as soon as it was determined to make a common cause with that much injured province, it became necessary that her local army should be made the army of the United Colonies, and be officered by Congress.

New-England had her Pomeroy, her Ward, and her Putnam, and many others who had seen as much, or perhaps more service than WASHINGTON; yet their wise delegates concurred in elevating the Virginian over their own favourite sons. The appointment of a commander in chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, was effected by an unanimous vote, and without competition. Not only Congress, but the inhabitants in every part of the United Colonies, seemed, by one consent, to point to WASHINGTON, as the chosen instrument of Heaven, to guide them, through the storms of war, to the haven of peace and safety. His native

modesty begat distrusts in his own breast, from which others were free:

In his acceptance of the office, he desired, "that it might be remembered by every gentleman present, that he declared, with the utmost sincerity, that he did not think himself equal to the command with which he was honoured."

On the third of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon the duties of his high station. Great were the difficulties which pressed on the new commander in chief. To introduce discipline and subordination among the free husbandmen, who had lately assumed the military character, and who were accustomed to act from the impulse of their own minds, was an arduous labour. To procure effective service from men who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field, requires virtues which are rarely found in military characters. The greater part of the Americans, officers as well as soldiers, had never seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and but feebly impressed with the ideas of union, subordination, and discipline. To form an army of such materials, fit to take the field against British veteran troops, was the task assigned to General WASHINGTON. In effecting this, he conducted with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful whether we ought most to admire the patient, accommodating spirit of the man, or the consummate address of the general.

The American troops were only engaged for a few months' service, and were in a great measure destitute of ammunition. On the 4th of August, 1775, and for fourteen days after, the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines of New-England, was not sufficient to make ten rounds a man. Under all these disadvantages, the commander in chief adopted such efficient arrangements, as protected the country, confined the British army to Boston, and finally obliged them to evacuate that city on the 17th of March, 1776. His conduct was so pleasing to Con-

gress, that they ordered a medal to be struck, with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of the great event; and so much to the satisfaction of the people of Massachusetts, that he was presented with a most flattering address from their Council and House of Representatives.

Hitherto General WASHINGTON had embarked in the war with the fond idea of a reconciliation with the parent state. Independence was an after-thought, forced on the Colonies by the refusal of Great-Britain to redress their grievances. Though he was not among the first to embrace the scheme of independence, yet as soon as he perceived the necessity of the measure, he heartily came into it. Far from wishing such a turn of affairs, as must necessarily lead to his personal aggrandizement, as long as one ray of hope remained, he ardently panted for such a return of moderation and wisdom to the rulers of Great-Britain, as would have united the two countries in their ancient habits of union and friendship.

Soon after the evacuation of Boston, General WASHINGTON, with the army under his command, took their position in New-York. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter at Boston, but much greater pressed upon him in New-York. In the former situation, he commanded a force far superior in number to the enemy: in the latter, his whole army was short of 18,000 men; and of these a great proportion was militia. To these were opposed upwards of 30,000 British veterans, supported by a powerful navy. In this situation, after much thought, General WASHINGTON resolved on a war of posts. He stood his ground, as long as it could be done, without risking too much, and then prevented the last extremity, by evacuating and retreating. He rightly judged, that to him, delay was victory; and not to be conquered, was to conquer. By this policy, he wore away the campaign of 1776. Though the British counted on the complete conquest of the Colonies in that year, it was the middle of Sep-

tember before they got footing in the city of New-York, and beyond the middle of November before they obtained full possession of New-York island.

The evacuating and retreating system, adopted by General WASHINGTON, subjected him to the clamours of short-sighted politicians, who questioned his decision and spirit. He had it always in his power to have vindicated himself, by stating the inferiority of his numbers, and the total unfitness of his raw troops to contend with the veteran force opposed to them; but with true magnanimity he bore those reproaches, and concealed his real situation.

In the latter end of November, the British commanders, instead of retiring into winter quarters, after driving the Americans from the State of New-York, pursued them into New-Jersey, with the fair prospect of annihilating their whole force. The moment was critical. Dangers and difficulties pressed on all sides. On the sixteenth of November, 2700 of the American army were taken prisoners in fort Washington. In fourteen days after that event, the flying camp, amounting to 10,000 men, having served out their time, claimed their discharge. Other whole regiments, on similar grounds, did the same. The few that remained with General WASHINGTON scarcely exceeded 3000, and they were in a most forlorn condition, without tents, or blankets, or any utensils to dress their provisions. Under all these disadvantages, they were obliged to consult their safety, by retreating towards Philadelphia, from a victorious army, pressing close on their rear. As they marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army for protection. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of affairs; but several of the leading men in New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, adopted the same expedient. Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The hearts of many brave Americans began to fail,

and to give up all hope of maintaining their independence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing their General; the people giving up the cause; some of their leaders going over to the enemy, and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General WASHINGTON did not despair. He slowly retreated before the advancing foe, and determined to fall back to Pennsylvania—to Augusta county in Virginia—and, if necessary, to the westward of yonder Mountains, where he was resolved, in the last extremity, to renew the struggle for the independence of his country. While his unconquered mind was brooding on these ideas, 1500 of the Pennsylvania militia joined him. With this small increase of force he formed the bold resolution of re-crossing the Delaware, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted in Trenton. Heaven smiled on the enterprise. On the 26th of December, 900 Hessians were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. This bold enterprise was, in eight days after, followed by another, which was planned with great address. General WASHINGTON with his army stole away under cover of the night, from the vicinity of a force far superior to his own, and attacked in their rear a detachment of the British posted in Princeton: 300 were taken prisoners, and about 100 killed and wounded. These two victories revived the drooping spirits of the Americans, and seemed, under Providence, to have been the means of their political salvation. They made the British so cautious of extending their posts, that General WASHINGTON, with an army of 1500 men, for several months, kept nearly 15,000 of the enemy closely pent up in Brunswick.

The same wise policy of avoiding decisive engagements was pursued by our Hero through the campaign of 1777, with so much effect, that it was as late as the 26th of September before Sir William Howe possessed himself of Philadelphia. In the various marches and counter-marches which took place between the two

armies, in the course of this campaign, repeated proofs were given, that though General WASHINGTON was forward to engage, when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent.

I claim your indulgence for recapitulating so much of the history of our late revolution, which is already known to you all. It is no digression. It is all to my purpose. When General WASHINGTON is the subject, history and eulogy are the same; the speaker praises him best, who gives the most faithful narrative of his actions.

If time permitted, I would run over every campaign, and point out to you, in each, the many instances in which our Hero displayed the talents of an accomplished general, as well as the mild virtues of the father of his country. I would particularize how eager he was to attack, when it could be done to advantage; and with how much dexterity he avoided engagements, when his situation was unfavourable. With what address he kept together a half naked, half starved, and unpaid army, particularly in the last year of the war, when gold and silver were banished from circulation, and the continental currency had depreciated almost to nothing. I would unfold how the magic of his name produced union and concert among the jarring States, and their discordant troops. I would—but time fails me even to enumerate the topics, from which, by the simple relation of facts, I could heighten your admiration of this extraordinary man. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations on his military career, by observing, that in consequence of a most judicious plan, in concerting, and executing which, General WASHINGTON had a principal share, Lord Cornwallis, with 7000 men, was, in October, 1781, compelled to surrender to the combined forces of France and the United States. This was the closing scene of the revolutionary war. At Trenton the first, and at York-Town the last decisive blow was given to the British forces in the

United States, and both were conducted under the immediate command of General WASHINGTON.

Though the capture of Lord Cornwallis, in a great measure, terminated the war, yet great and important services were rendered to the United States, by our General, after that event. The army, which had fought the battles of independence, was about to be disbanded without being paid. At this period, when the minds of both officers and men were in a highly irritable state, attempts were made, by plausible but seditious publications, to induce them to unite in redressing their grievances, while they had arms in their hands. The whole of General WASHINGTON's influence was exerted, and nothing less than his unbounded influence would have been availing, to prevent the adoption of measures, that threatened to involve the country in an intestine war, between the army on the one side, and the citizens on the other. If WASHINGTON had been a Julius Cæsar, or an Oliver Cromwell, all we probably would have gained by the revolution would have been a change of our allegiance; from being the subjects of George the Third of Great-Britain, to become the subjects of George the First of America.

The war being ended; the peace, liberties, and independence of these States being acknowledged and secured, our beloved General presents himself before Congress, and returns into their hands his commission as Commander in Chief of their armies. The scene was grand and majestic. After having successfully served his country for eight years, and conducted its armies through a revolutionary war, which terminated in the establishment of the liberties and independence of these States, when he is about to retire to private life, does he demand honours or emoluments for himself, family, or friends? No such thing. In modest language, he recommended to the favourable notice, and patronage of Congress, the confidential officers who were attached to his person. For them, he indirectly asks favours, but nothing for himself. The only privilege conferred by

Congress on the retiring WASHINGTON, which distinguished him from any other private citizen, was, a right of sending and receiving letters free of postage. Think not, I mean to charge my country with ingratitude. Nothing would have been refused to him, which he wished to have; but to use his own language on another occasion, "he shut his hand against all pecuniary compensation."

Do you ask me, how this illustrious General, after being used for eight years to camps, bore the languid indifference of private life? Do you inquire, whether he went to Europe in a public or private character? Had he been a vain man, fond of applause, or of glittering in the public eye, he would doubtless have put himself in the way of receiving those flattering attentions, which are so eagerly coveted by the vulgar great. Very different was the line of conduct he pursued. After resigning his commission, he hastened, with inexpressible delight, to his long-neglected farm at Mount Vernon; sheathed his sword; laid aside his uniform, and assumed the dress and habits of a country gentleman. With the same assiduity he had lately visited camps and forts, he began once more to visit his fields and his mills. In a short time, the first general of the world became the best farmer in Virginia.

Do you inquire, on what subjects this great man, after retiring from an exalted public station, used to converse? Was it his practice to "fight his battles o'er again," and entertain his company with a recital of the great scenes in which he had been a principal actor? Ask the many gentlemen who partook of his hospitality, and they will one and all tell you, that he rarely spoke of the war, and still more rarely of himself, unless his guests forced conversation upon these subjects. His favourite topics were agricultural; on these he dwelled with peculiar pleasure, and rejoiced in every opportunity of giving and receiving information on the first and best employment of man. In this beloved retreat, from the cares and business of public life, he wished to

spend the remainder of his days; but, after having enjoyed himself on his farm for four years, his country again called for his services.

From the inefficacy of the articles of Confederation, and from several other concurring causes, a tide of evils flowed in upon the United States, in the years that immediately followed the return of peace. A Convention of the different States was called, to digest a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the Union. To this illustrious assembly General WASHINGTON was deputed, and of it he was unanimously elected president. His wisdom had a great share in forming, and the influence of his name a still greater in procuring, the acceptance of the Constitution, which the Convention recommended to the people for their adoption. By this, one legislative, executive, and judicial power was made to pervade all the States, and the executive in particular was committed to an officer, by the name of President. Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the merits of the new Constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. Three millions of people, by their representatives, unanimously gave their suffrages in favour of GEORGE WASHINGTON. Unambitious of further honours, he wished to be excused from all public service; but that ardent patriotism, by which he had always been governed, prevailed over his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great work of making a nation happy. The popularity of his name, and the confidence which the people of all the States reposed in his tried integrity, enabled him to give an energy to the new Constitution, which it would not have had under the administration of any other person.

I need not remind you of the great improvements which have taken place in the wealth, resources, and commerce of the United States since WASHINGTON has been President. You know them, you feel them; and the daily increasing prosperity of our country attests them.

In the midst of this prosperity, a storm arose in a far distant land, which threatened to involve these States in its wide spreading devastation ; but our political pilot once more saved us from impending danger. When the war broke out between France and England, an artful minister was sent from the former, with the avowed design of involving us in the contest. The kindred name of a republic ; unbounded love and gratitude to France for beneficial aid, afforded us in our struggle for independence ; rankling hatred of Great-Britain for the many injuries she had done us in the same period, all concurred to make a strong party among us, favourable to the views of the French minister. This was increased by impolitic and illegal captures of our floating property, by the vessels of his Britannic Majesty. When we were apparently on the point of being drawn into the vortex of the war, President WASHINGTON, by virtue of his constitutional powers, prevented it. He nominated an envoy extraordinary to negotiate with the Court of London. This, like the veto of a Roman tribune, put a stop to all further proceedings ; for the legislature could not proceed to hostile measures while the executive was negotiating. The man, who, in his military capacity, had saved us from Great-Britain, now, in his civil character, saved us from ourselves. The people, though divided in parties, were so fully convinced of the rectitude and purity of the conduct of WASHINGTON, that on a second election they elevated him to the same exalted station, with an unanimous voice. If my time, or your patience, permitted, I would go over the civil administration of our late President, and point out to you his judicious arrangements for making us happy at home, and respectable abroad ; for protecting our commerce ; for encouraging our agriculture ; for giving vigour to our internal police, by calling into office upright and able men, in every department. I would dilate, with particular pleasure, on his unwearied endeavours to preserve the country in peace. While some of our citizens

were for France, and others for England, WASHINGTON was for the United States, and with great address preserved us on both sides from the horrors of war.

On these subjects I cannot dwell, and therefore hasten to observe, that, after having served his country with great ability, and fidelity, for eight years, in the office of President, he once more retired to private life, covered with honours, and followed by the love and gratitude of all the people. Previous to this event, he gave his last parting advice to the citizens of the United States, in the form of a valedictory address. This is in all your hands. Teach it to your children, in the house, and by the way, lying down and rising up, going out and coming in. It is an invaluable legacy. Perhaps there never was so much important instruction, so much good advice, given by any mere man, in the compass of so few words, as was done by WASHINGTON on this, and a similar occasion, when he retired from military command.

Our departed friend had not enjoyed his beloved retirement two years, when his country again called for his services. The rulers of France having entirely departed from the principles on which they set out, plundered our commerce, insulted our ministers of peace; and some of their agents went so far as to threaten us with invasion. This imposed a necessity to organize an army, and prepare for the last extremity. All the world knew, and WASHINGTON, though the most modest of men, could not but know, that his name, at the head of our army, would either deter any European power from invading us; or, if they should madly make the attempt, would unite all our citizens as a band of brothers for the common defence. He therefore accepted the appointment; and, though on the verge of threescore years and ten, stood ready and pledged to take the field, whenever the necessities of the country required it. In this attitude, and with a fixed resolution to serve his country in the last ebb of his life, and with the last drop of his blood, our father

has been suddenly snatched from us. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity. Well may you mourn on such an occasion. Well may you shroud yourselves and your churches in black. Well may the citizens of these States, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, mingle their tears in one great flood of grief. It was wise and proper to set apart a day, free from business and care, to give undisturbed vent to your sorrows. Who now will wield the sword of our country against our enemies? Many brave and good officers we yet have; but none, like WASHINGTON, can by their very names strike terror into the breasts of an invading enemy. None, like WASHINGTON, can unite all hearts and hands in the common defence.

Having finished an historical review of the life of our departed friend, bear with me a few minutes while I attempt to draw his character. For the sake of those who have never seen General WASHINGTON, it may be worth while to observe, that his person was graceful, well proportioned, and uncommonly tall. When he was cheerful, he had a most engaging countenance; when grave, a most respectable one. There was at all times an air of majesty and dignity in his appearance.

His learning was of a singular kind; he overstepped the tedious forms of the schools, and by the force of a correct taste and sound judgment, seized on the great ends of learning, without the assistance of those means, which have been contrived to prepare less active minds for public business. By a careful study of the English language, by reading good models of fine writing, and, above all, by the aid of a vigorous mind, he made himself master of a pure, elegant, and classical style. His composition was all nerve; full of correct and manly ideas, which were expressed in precise and forcible language. His answers to the innumerable addresses, which on all public occasions poured in upon him, were promptly made, handsomely expressed, and always contained something appropriate. His letters to Congress; his addresses to that body on the acceptance and

resignation of his commission; his general orders as Commander in Chief; his speeches and messages, as President; and above all, his two farewell addresses to the people of the United States, will remain lasting monuments of the goodness of his heart, of the wisdom of his head, and of the eloquence of his pen.

The powers of his mind were in some respects peculiar. He was a great practical self-taught genius, with a head to devise, and a hand to execute projects of the first magnitude and greatest utility. Happily for his country he was not under the dominion of a warm imagination; but he possessed, in an eminent degree, what was of infinitely more consequence, a correct, solid judgment. This was improved by close thinking, and strengthened by daily exercise. Possessing a large proportion of common sense, uninfluenced by prejudice, passion, or party spirit; deliberately weighing, in the balance of a sound judgment, the possible and probable consequences of every step he took, and being always under the influence of an honest, good heart, he was imperceptibly led to decisions that were wise and judicious. It is not pretended that he was infallible; but it may, with truth, be asserted, that in the multiplicity of business, on which he had to decide, his errors were as few in number, as venial in their nature, and as unimportant in their consequences, as could reasonably be expected in the present imperfect state of the wisest and best of men.

Enemies he had, but they were few, and chiefly of the same family with the man, who could not bear to hear Aristides always called the just. Among them all, I have never heard of one who charged him with any habitual vice, or even foible. There are few men of any kind, and still fewer of those the world calls great, who have not some of their virtues eclipsed by corresponding vices. But this was not the case with General WASHINGTON. He had religion without austerity; dignity without pride; modesty without diffidence; courage without rashness; politeness with-

out affectation ; affability without familiarity. His private character, as well as his public one, will bear the strictest scrutiny. He was punctual in all his engagements ; upright and honest in his dealings ; temperate in his enjoyments ; liberal and hospitable to an eminent degree ; a lover of order ; systematical and methodical in all his arrangements. He was the friend of morality and religion ; steadily attended on public worship ; encouraged and strengthened the hands of the clergy. In all his public acts he made the most respectful mention of Providence, and, in a word, carried the spirit of piety with him, both in his private life and public administration. He was far from being one of those minute philosophers, who believe that " death is an eternal sleep ;" or of those, who, trusting to the sufficiency of human reason, discard the light of Divine Revelation.

To dwell on all the virtues of General WASHINGTON, would protract my oration beyond the going down of the sun. I must therefore confine myself to a few. Among the many that present themselves, his patience and spirit of accommodation deserve particular notice. He had to form soldiers of freemen ; many of whom had extravagant ideas of their personal rights. He had often to mediate between a starving army, and a high spirited yeomanry. So great were the necessities of the soldiers, under his immediate command, that he was obliged to send out detachments to seize on the property of the farmers at the point of the bayonet. The language of the soldier was, " Give me cloathing—give me food, or I cannot fight—I cannot live ;" The language of the farmer was, " Protect my property." In this choice of difficulties, General WASHINGTON not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much prudence, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens. He was also dependent for much of his support on the concurrence of thirteen distinct unconnected legislatures. Animosities prevailed between his southern and north-

ern troops ; and there were strong jealousies between the States from which they respectively came. To harmonize these clashing interests—to make uniform arrangements from such discordant sources and materials, required no common share of address : Yet so great was the effect of the modest, unassuming manners of General WASHINGTON, that he retained the affection of all his troops, and of all the States.

Bravery is indispensable in a military man, though it stands lowest in the least of the virtues of a great officer. Our hero possessed a great share of it. In battle he was the bravest among the brave. When the service required it, he cheerfully risked his person. Of this I could enumerate many instances. I could particularly relate, that on New-York island, and at the battle at Princeton, he was so far in front of his troops, and exposed to so much danger, that the preservation of his life can only be accounted for by those, who believe in a particular Providence. Having so many more important matters before me, I cannot dwell on this subject. How rich in reputation must that General be, whose courage must be thrown in the back ground, to give place for the display of his more important virtues !

General WASHINGTON also possessed equanimity in an eminent degree. One even tenor marked the greatness of his mind, in all the variety of scenes through which he passed. In the most trying situations, he never despaired, nor was he ever depressed. Propositions, supported by plausible assignments, were made to him by honest, but despairing, timid Americans, to save himself and his country, by negotiating at the head of his army ; but in the lowest ebb of affairs, he spurned at every such proposal. The honours and applause he received from his grateful countrymen, at more fortunate periods, would have made any other man giddy ; but on him they had no mischievous effect. He exacted none of those attentions ; but, when forced upon him, he received them as favours, with the politeness of a well bred man. He was great in deserv-

ing them, but much greater in not being elated with them.

The patriotism of our departed friend was of the most ardent kind, and without alloy. He was very different from those noisy patriots, who, with love of country in their mouths and with hell in their hearts, lay their schemes for aggrandizing themselves at every hazard; but he was one of those, who love their country in sincerity, and who hold themselves bound to consecrate all their talents to its service. Numerous were the difficulties with which he had to contend. Great were the dangers he had to encounter. Various were the toils and services in which he had to share. But to all difficulties and dangers he rose superior; to all toils and services he cheerfully submitted for his country's good.

Possessing an ample, unencumbered fortune; happy at home, in the most pleasing domestic connexions; what but love of country could have induced him to accept the command of the American army in 1775? Could it be hatred of Great-Britain? He then ardently loved her, and panted for a reconciliation with her. Could it be partiality for a military life? He was then in the forty-fourth year of his age, when a fondness for camps generally abates. Could it be love of fame? The whole tenor of his life forbids us to believe, that he ever was under the undue influence of this passion. Fame followed him, but he never pursued it. Could it have been the love of power? They who best knew the undissembled wishes of his heart, will all tell you with what reluctance he was dragged from a private station, and with what ineffable delight he returned to it. Had he not voluntarily declined it, he would have died your President. Others have resigned high stations from disgust; but he retired at rather an early period of old age, while his faculties were strong, and his health not much impaired, and when the great body of the people sincerely loved him, and ardently wished for his re-election.

Could it have been the love of money that induced him to accept the command of the American army? No such thing. When he was appointed Commander in Chief, Congress made him a handsome allowance; but in his acceptance of the command, he declared, "that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted him to accept the arduous employment, at the expense of his domestic ease and happiness, he did not wish to make any profit from it," "I will keep," said he, "an exact account of my expenses; these, I doubt not, you will discharge, and that is all I desire." At the close of the war, he produced his accounts for the eight years it had lasted, all in his own hand writing, and with the same exactness that was required of commissaries and contractors. The whole amounted to £.14,479 18s. 9d. $\frac{3}{4}$ sterling. Of this sum, about one seventh was for secret services. The amount paid, the time when, and the occasions on which monies were advanced for secret services, were all carefully noticed; but for obvious reasons, no receipts were produced. For every other item of the account, the most regular vouchers were exhibited. The whole, at the request of General WASHINGTON, was minutely examined by the proper accounting officers, and regularly passed. A tin box, containing these accounts, remains in one of the offices of the United States. It is a monument of the disinterestedness of General WASHINGTON. Bring your children and your children's children to examine its contents. Shew them the hand-writing of the father of their country; teach them thereon lessons of economy, of order and method in expenses; teach them to love their country, and to serve it on liberal terms.

I call upon antiquity, upon modern Europe, and especially on the recent republic of France, to produce one of their heroes or statesmen, that can surpass, or even equal, our disinterested patriot.

Had I a voice that would reach across the Atlantic, I would address the nations at war, and propose to

their emperors, their kings, their directors, their generals, and their statesmen, the example of our WASHINGTON for their imitation; and call upon them, if not too much abashed by the splendour of his virtues, to learn from him to put far away avarice and ambition; and, like him, to pursue nought but their country's good. If they would thus copy after the great example of our American hero, they would soon sheath their swords, and let the world have peace.

But chiefly do I call on my fellow-citizens, to cherish the remembrance of the virtues of the dear deceased. To learn from him to be all eye, all ear, all heart and hand in the service of your country; to think no sacrifice too great, no labour too hard, which public good requires at your hands. Rehearse to your children, and instruct them to rehearse to theirs, the noble deeds of your common father, and inspire them with a holy resolution to go and do likewise. His great example, thus improved, will be a germ of virtuous actions through succeeding generations, till time shall be no more.

But to return. The same reasoning will apply, with still greater force, to General WASHINGTON's acceptance of the office of President of the United States. No motives, but those of the purest kind, could have induced him, loaded with honours, and possessed of a reputation, that had carried his name to the remotest corners of the globe, to quit his beloved retirement for the second time, and embark on the perilous sea of civil life.

Where shall we find words sufficient to do justice to his self-denying acceptance of his recent appointment to the supreme command of the army that is now raising? View him in the possession of all that his heart could wish; in the sixty-seventh year of his age, when repose and retirement must have been not only desirable, but even necessary. View him, under all those circumstances, pledging himself to take the field, whenever the situation of his country required it. How

ardent must have been his patriotism! How great is the loss which we have sustained!

In losing him, our people have lost their guide; our country has lost its father—its sword and shield—its greatest benefactor and ornament. Rome, with all her heroes; Greece, with all her patriots, could not produce his equal. Not one, who trod the stage of life with equal dignity, and who departed from it in old age with a reputation so brilliant, and at the same time so spotless.

His virtues and example are an invaluable legacy to his country, to Europe, to the world. His counsels are engraven on the table of our hearts; his deeds are written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond. His fame is a sea without a shore. His counsels, his deeds, and his fame, will live forever. But, alas! those eyes, which have watched so many nights for the safety of the United States, are now closed in death; that tongue, and those hands, which have so often, so long, and so successfully been exerted for our benefit, are now mouldering in the dust.

No more will he enlighten our councils by his wisdom—No more will he lead our armies to victory—No longer will his name prove a bulwark of defence, by giving us one mind and one heart, and by striking terror into our enemies. For these things, our hearts are faint; our eyes are dim and run down with water.

This day is a day of trouble and distress; a day of darkness and gloominess; a day of clouds and thick darkness—But I check myself—WASHINGTON's worth, and our sorrows, exceed all speech. I am therefore silent, that we may muse on his merits, and indulge our grief.

A Masonic Eulogy

ON THE LIFE OF THE

ILLUSTRIOUS BROTHER GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Pronounced before the Brethren of St. *JOHN'S LODGE*,
on the Evening of the 4th of *February*, 5800.

AT THEIR PARTICULAR REQUEST.

BY BROTHER GEORGE BLAKE.

"Description cannot suit itself in words,
'To demonstrate the life of such a man.'" *Shakespeare.*

LABOUR, be at rest! *Mirth*, let not thy voice be heard! *Joy*, our once sweet visitant, we have now no place for thee here! Our Lodge has become the abode of melancholy and sorrow. *Grief*, O, *Grief*! most sincerely do we welcome thee to the hall of this fraternity; thou dull, dismal messenger of wo, it is thy privilege to rule our Lodge this night; from heaven's high arch art thou commissioned, by the weeping genius of *Masonry*, to take charge of this her terrestrial habitation. We acknowledge thy credentials—they are witnessed by the signature of Death; we bow to thy authority—we yield to thy commands. Come, then, *Grief*! dark and gloomy spirit; we are now thy brothers. At this moment we are ready to induct thee to office—to invest thee with the black symbols of stately promotion. In the *East*, where gay light once had dominion, there shalt thou sit enthroned on clouds and darkness: In the *West*, thy faithful *Wardens* are Sadness and Sympathy; and as the sun setteth in the *West*, to close the day, so do they sit there to draw thy cloudy mantle over this Lodge. Dressed in thy most dismal attire, we hail thee, *Grief*.

as the master of this meeting ; for thy *truncheon*, we give thee the grave-man's *mattock* ; on thy bosom will we fasten a beamless *jewel*, that is covered by the sable vestment of night ; for thy *girdle*, thou shalt wear a *wandering moon-beam*, whose glimmering light shall serve to make more visible the darkness of thy form. The *tomb-stone* is thy *trussell board*, and thy *tow line* shall be twisted from the finest chords of *Mason's hearts*. Here then, *Grief*, we await thy commands ; our *hearts*, and not our hands, will perform the joyless labours of the night. Our refreshment shall be the cup of bitterness, and when we have drunken it to the dregs, our bosoms, with *three times three thousand* pulsations, shall give the signal of our sincerity and unison.

But whence, my brothers, and wherefore is all this gloom and stillness ? Why is the noise of the busy hammer suspended, and our ears greeted only by the slow beatings of kindred bosoms. Why has our noon-tide *Sun* retired so soon to the dark chambers of the *West* ? Our Lodge, which has so often resounded with the voice of industry and mirth, is now silent as the mansion of death ; those dazzling luminaries, which have been wont to enlighten our labours, why are they extinguished ? why do they now refuse their accustomed radiance ? The *compass*, the *square*, the *level*, the *plumb*, and all those sparkling *jewels*, once the pride and the ornament of *Masons*, are now concealed by a veil of blackness ; the cheerful song, which has so often welcomed the eve of labour, has ceased to undulate. I hear nothing but the doleful melody of sighs and groans. Where I have once seen the sprightly features of ease and contentment ; where I have often beheld the expanded countenance of gladness and hilarity ; through this dubious quivering light, I can now discern naught but the pale sickly visage of melancholy and sorrow. Need I ask, my brothers, whence this awful change ? Of our respected Master shall I inquire, why stands a tear trembling in

his eye? or of you, my friends, why every breath seems to travel from the lungs in pain? or why this dismal night-shade is more suited to the present "*habit of your souls*," than the jocund aspect of day? No! my own heart, my brothers, resolves the mystery. WASHINGTON! O, WASHINGTON! OUR MASTER, OUR BROTHER, OUR FATHER, OUR FRIEND, WASHINGTON IS NO MORE! He, who was greater than Hiram, better and more beloved than Solomon; he, whose virtues have been so long the example, the boast of our fraternity; whose countenance diffused splendour and brightness through the wide *arch of Masonry*, has gone down in the *West*, has descended to the silent mansions of the dead. That perfect *ashlar*, which stood at the East corner of our *temple*; that *stone*, which the builders selected, which was wrought and polished by the hand of God himself; that, on which rested the main pillar of our *fabric*, is torn away and removed by the resistless arm of *Death*; the strength of our building is decayed; its beauty and ornament are obliterated forever; the *Grand Architect* in heaven has recalled from his embassy, a being, who was sent to us, as a *light* to our designs, a *model* for our labours. *Pure spirit of Masonry!* thy loss is irreparable. Well mayest thou now make the "dust thy paper, and with rainy tears write sorrow on the bosom of the earth." The fairest *column* of thy earthly *temple* is broken, the *column* on which the brightest features of thy character were engraven, is demolished, and in the quarries of heaven alone is there a precious stone to supply its place.

Think not, my brothers, that I have felt it my duty, on the present occasion, to assist you in estimating the magnitude of your loss, by an attempt to display all the virtues of the wonderful man, whose death we commemorate. Forgive me, if I touch lightly on a few lineaments of a character, whose aggregate is not only far beyond my powers to describe; but as far beyond my faculties to comprehend. A few days only

have elapsed, since I was first invited by my brethren to assist in this solemn offering of grief. In this busy, thoughtless, tumultuous world, I leave you to consider, what a small, very small portion of our reflection is fit to be dedicated to a subject so interesting, so sublimely affecting. For myself, I can hardly contemplate the death of WASHINGTON without a feeling of piety and devotion; I dared not think of the event, until I had purified my mind from every sentiment relating to the stale concerns of ordinary life; and to speak of him, in this solemn Lodge, I should consider as nearly allied to blasphemy, had I not first cleansed my tongue from all the frivolous language to which it is accustomed.

With these impressions, on my mind, few indeed must have been the moments I have had to prepare for this solemnity; but I complain not of their brevity, for *Time* himself could not lend me hours enough to complete the task. Had every minute of my leisure been protracted to months—had every month been prolonged to years, still should I have been but at the beginning of a duty, so stupendous as that of recording the virtues of our illustrious deceased. Were the flight of my fancy swift as a sun-beam; were the vision of my mind sharp as lightning in the “collied night,” yet would they be slow in their progress, still must they loiter in the rear of his glory and renown. What then, my brothers, can be expected of me, dull and feeble as I am? What can I say to magnify the eulogium he deserved; to swell the tide of grief, that is now bursting from the hearts of his faithful, affectionate and grateful countrymen? Compared to his virtues, and the world’s sorrow for his death, all the little praise in my power to bestow, is but as the transient night-fly’s twinkle to the steady lustre of the pole-star—my voice as a sigh to the whirlwind—and our united sympathy but as a single tear-drop on the billows of ocean.

Were we contemplating the character of other heroes and statesmen, whom history hath celebrated, well indeed might it be suspected that hypocrisy had put on for a while the vizard of grief, that cold senseless duty had been blowing its studied praises through the trump of hollow adulation; but on a theme like the present, language loses the power to exaggerate, and even dissimulation itself could hardly conjure up a pretence, that would reach in semblance to the height of reality. The character of WASHINGTON stood single and alone. In him, all the qualities which constitute the excellence of man, however contrary in nature or repugnant in principle, were almost miraculously united and reconciled. With the ardour of his youth, was associated the temperance of age; imagination was instructed by prudence, without being trammelled by timidity; caution guided the steps of rashness, but fear did not retard the celerity of courage.

His first achievement in war was but the experiment of youth; and yet on the field of Braddock, his success seemed to have resulted alone from the ripened experience of manhood. He was then little more than a beardless stripling, the leader of an undisciplined militia, "disdainfully thrown in the rear" of a veteran soldiery; but on that memorable day, when victory had already pronounced a decision on the conflict, when Death, leaping from ambush, furious and inclement, had reached to the very middle of his ranks, and with hideous yell, was in swift pursuit of a disordered and affrighted army, there did we behold our youthful hero, with calmness and serenity on his front, collected in the midst of carnage, and undismayed by the horrors that surrounded him. Awed by his presence, Destiny forgot its resolves, and even Death himself, as if outgeneralled by management, abandoned in despair his half completed purpose of desolation.

But the presages of his youth, bold and promising as they were, have been more than consummated. At an early period of life, the great properties of his mind were too resplendent to need an interpretation from scrutiny, and their tendency too perspicuous to require an assurance from the tongue of prophecy.

Our country was menaced by oppression! *Bellona's* scourge had already been tinged with the blood of our countrymen; our shores were shadowed by the floating messengers of destruction, and the very air we breathe thickened by the smoke of our conflagrated villages; when the voice of millions, almost at the same moment, with a kind of instinctive confidence, appealed for protection to the heroism of a WASHINGTON. At this perilous crisis, the heart of every American, like the trembling needle at the pole, rested on him as the last point of its dependence. Influenced by no other excitement than the purest love of his country, aided by few other resources, than the exhaustless arsenal of his own great mind, at a time when bravery might have faltered, and despair itself been disarmed of its resolution, did he become the bold, decided champion of American liberty.

With what unshaken firmness, with what unerring fidelity, he executed the fearful duties of his station, it is thy business, *History!* to pronounce to future generations; thy work is already begun, and when the story is complete, it will be the largest, and the most instructive volume in thy archives. In vain may thy Plutarch and Polybius vaunt their Alexanders, their Hannibals, the Scipios and Cæsars; all their boasted virtues would but serve as an appendix to the biography of *our* WASHINGTON. Faithful *Clio*, thou who presidest in the registry of human transactions, thy book and thy trumpet, which have been wont to report the deeds of *heroic murderers*, are now required for a new and more grateful employment; before thou writest the name of WASHINGTON, well mayest thou tear from thy records, the pages on which are

inscribed the inevitable follies and crimes of mankind—well mayest thou now exult, there has once lived a man, who had power without ambition, glory without arrogance, fame without infatuation; a man, who united the meekness of a Christian, with the influence of a despot; a man, whose heart did not sink by misfortune, and whose head became more steady by elevation; a man, who saved a country by his valour, and could receive its praises without assumption.

It was, my brothers, the sentiment of a very profound writer, “that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good.” To this opinion, founded on the degeneracy of our nature, common experience had given almost the authority of maxim; but the degrading principle, like almost every other, deduced from the frailty, the imbecility of man, was precisely reversed in the character of WASHINGTON. All his advantages, all his powers, extensive as they were, and in other hands, destructive as they might have been, by a kind of supernatural agency, seemed to have been directed to but one and the best of purposes, the welfare of his country and the glory of his God.

There was a time, when, had the ambition of a Sylla been united to the power of a WASHINGTON, this fair country, which we inhabit; this favoured residence of liberty and peace might, perhaps, have been prostrate at the foot of an imperious tyrant. Instead of greeting our illustrious Brother in the streets, with love and the familiarity of his equals, we might have commixed with an obsequious rabble, and followed in the rear of a conqueror in triumph; instead of weeping at his grave in all the sincerity of grief, we might now have been engaged in a mimic solemnity, a cold, unfeeling, slavish ceremonial. Was there not a time, my brothers, when he might perhaps have decimated our councils, like a Cromwell garbled our parliament, and trampled with impunity on the freedom he was commissioned and affected to protect?

when with a devoted, unsatisfied army at command, he could have spoken to us in the name of liberty, and his vacant pretensions been received as the only pledge of our rights?

But, praises be to Heaven, our WASHINGTON was incorruptible by the possession of glory, as he had been magnanimous in pursuit of his nation's independence; his exalted soul would have disdained to command, when duty and honour enjoined him to obey; his valour, which had done every thing for others, had nothing to perform for the aggrandizement of himself. America victorious, her freedom secured, the commanding attitude of a General, the renowned conquering General, was, in an instant, converted to the humble demeanor of an obedient, un aspiring citizen. At the altar of liberty, when he presented the charter of independence, he also laid down the sword, by which it had been rescued. By this last act, the vaunting predictions of his enemies were in a moment blasted, and the fondest hopes of his countrymen confirmed. He who had conquered the proudest nation of Europe, by a nobler achievement, had now "conquered himself," had vanquished the frailties and infirmities of nature.

From that period, nothing remained of the soldier, the veteran, but the fruits of his victory, and our imperishable remembrance of the valour by which they were acquired. For himself, solitude and retirement were the only recompense he could ask for his services; but even this recompense, little as it seemed, was greater than his country had power to bestow. Again was he wanted; his nation called; he could not refrain to listen and obey. He who had been first in the field, was now required to be first in the councils of his country. In this elevated department, if any thing could surpass the rectitude of his conduct, it was the facility and moderation with which he afterwards resigned the authority of his office. Power, that delusive phantasm, which bewilders little minds, had no charm for him; but when duty required its exercise

for the happiness of mankind ; at a time, when the very name of WASHINGTON had in it the force of magic ; when, like a secret talisman, it could harmonize the discord of passions most hostile, and reconcile the variance of principles the most opposite ; at a time, when the dissonant voices of conflicting party would have melted into unison, to proclaim him again the leader of our republic ; at that very time, when, like Augustus, he could perhaps have managed his fame to perpetuate his authority, did we behold the venerable President, as we had before seen the victorious General, descending with complacency to the humble occupation of an husbandman.

His labours completed, how much more than his duties performed ! our illustrious hero was once more permitted to enjoy in retirement the luxury of his reflections. Retirement he might have, but in the dreariest wilds of our continent, there is not a covert, most hidden and inscrutable, that could hold a being like him, a moment in obscurity. Glory, like the pillar and the cloud, marked his progress by night and by day. As well might the sun conceal his disk behind the vapour of a dew-drop ; as well might the flaming meteor travel unnoticed through the dark welkin of night, as thou, O WASHINGTON ! couldst have lived in thy country, unaccompanied by its regard and astonishment. In thy own family, at the head of thy domestics, thou wert not less conspicuous than when leading to victory in the van of thy armies. In the view of Americans, thou wert the same illustrious being, whether they beheld you presiding in their councils, or an unassuming umpire in a village disputation ; in thy hands, the meanest implement of a farmer was more graceful and imposing than the sceptre of a monarch ; and in the loneliest vale of thy farm, thou wert as high and elevated as if perched on the summit of towering Alleghany ; the lustre of thy character was intrinsic, unchangeable, it could neither

be increased by accident, nor diminished by the casualties of station.

But in his own view, the duties of a patriot were still unsatisfied. All the delights of youth, the energies of manhood, the tranquillity of age, which had been successively devoted to his country, he considered but as the interest of a debt, which time should not limit, nor even death itself annul. Beyond the very confines of the grave, when sense should lose its faculty to discern, and action its power to perform, it was his wish to continue in usefulness to mankind. His contemplations, his reflections, (the very beggar's privilege) were believed by WASHINGTON to be the property of his fellow-citizens; to his country he bequeathed them. Were the inheritance divisible, and the whole world the inheritors, each man's portion of the gift would be of more value than the wealth of Potosi, or all the accumulated treasures of the Indies; it is a treasure lasting as virtue, and imperishable as his soul.

A few years only, my brothers, have elapsed, since in this very metropolis, our eyes, now weeping at his death, have gazed with astonishment on this wonder, this prodigy of men. Never shall I forget the solemnity, the impressive solemnity, which his presence inspired. Age forgot its decrepitude; youth forsook its amusements; *Union* and *Discord* laid down their enmity, and flew together to behold, in reality, a being whom fame had hitherto presented but as a picture to the imagination. (He has often spoken of it himself as the most affecting scene of his life.) I have still in remembrance the awe, the love and veneration that crowded together on my mind. The gratitude of his countrymen was received with as much modesty, "as if he had been in the act of apology for his offences." He could not speak, for sensibility had choked expression; but his countenance addressed us in a language more than human; in a language, by the tongue, unutterable. When he bowed, every heart that surrounded him, as if it had received the last salutation of a dying

man, sunk in sorrow and dejection. At a time when joy should have rent the air with its acclamations, when every eye would have beamed with rapture, and every tongue spoken in the accents of gladness, the scene was silent and solemn, and seemed fearfully to portend the fast approaching event which we now commemorate.

I had read of triumphal entries, of conquerors in cars; all the splendour of Roman and Grecian celebrations, and the noisy shouts of a nation of parasites, were familiar to my conceptions; but never, till then, had I a sentiment of any thing so sublime, as the attitude of such virtue, in such a triumph.

But, my friends, the circumstances of his life, strange, surprising as they were, could not be more remarkable than the scenes which have followed his death. More than five millions of people on our own continent, and if the tidings of death have flown on the rapid wing of his living fame, more than ten times five millions on other continents, are at this moment lamenting the same melancholy event which we now solemnize. AMERICANS, though his nearest relatives, have not a right to monopolize an exclusive alliance with WASHINGTON. He was a MAN, the best friend of man; and every thing wearing the form or feature of humanity, must feel a pride in being called his kinsman. *Vernon!* high and lofty as thou art, thou second Ararat, on which the Ark of American safety was lodged, every acre of our continent, as well as thy own proud hill, was rescued and protected by his arm, and has a right to contest thy boasted pre-eminence! *Virginia*, favoured spot of his nativity, he was not thine; thy sisters in the North and the South, claim a portion of his glory as their inheritance! *Columbia*, he was not thine; he was a descendant of Adam, and every son and daughter of Adam may exult that he was their *friend* and their *brother*. *Earth*, he was not thine! he was the offspring of Virtue, the favourite of Heaven; to Heaven has he ascended—there is his *own*, his last, his eternal abode!!

An Oration

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Pronounced in *BOSTON*, before his Honor the *LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR*, the *COUNCIL*, and the *TWO BRANCHES* of the *LEGISLATURE* of *MASSACHUSETTS*, at their Request, on the 8th of *February*, 1800.

BY *FISHER AMES*.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind should be drawn to their benefactors. A number of these have successively arisen, who were no less distinguished for the elevation of their virtues, than the lustre of their talents. Of those, however, who were born, and who acted through life as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas ! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals of time and space that divide them ! In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or six light-houses on as many thousand miles of coast : they gleam upon the surrounding darkness with an inextinguishable splendour, like stars seen through a mist ; but they are seen like stars, to cheer, to guide, and to save. *WASHINGTON* is now added to that small number. Already he attracts curiosity, like a newly discovered star, whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds. Already his name is hung up by history, as conspicuously as if it sparkled in one of the constellations of the sky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue ; to confess the common debt of mankind, as well as our own ; and to pronounce for posterity, now dumb, that eulo-

gium which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I consider myself not merely in the midst of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vast and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries, and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raise my voice, and speak to mankind in a strain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my subject. But how shall I express emotions that are condemned to be mute, because they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witness, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief that saddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow laboured for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the consolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what consolation! Each face was convulsed with sorrow for the past; every heart shivered with despair for the future. The man who, and who alone, united all hearts, was dead—dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greatest, and when the aspect of the imminent public dangers seemed more than ever to render his aid indispensable, and his loss irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A grief so thoughtful, so profound, so mingled with tenderness and admiration, so interwoven with our national self-love, so often revived by being diffused, is not to be expressed. You have assigned me a task that is impossible.

O, if I could perform it; if I could illustrate his principles in my discourse as he displayed them in his life; if I could paint his virtues as he practised them; if I could convert the fervid enthusiasm of my heart into the talent to transmit his fame, as it ought to pass, to posterity; I should be the successful organ of your will, the minister of his virtues, and, may I dare to say, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. These are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them.

For it is perhaps almost as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praise great actions, as to perform them. A lavish and undistinguishing eulogium is not praise ; and to discriminate such excellent qualities as were characteristic and peculiar to him, would be to raise a name, as he raised it, above envy, above parallel—perhaps, for that very reason, above emulation.

Such a portraying of character, however, must be addressed to the understanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would seem to be rather an analysis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and esteem, than kindle enthusiasm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas ; like a statue, cold as the marble on which he is represented ; cold, alas ! as his corpse in the ground. Ah ! how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the soul once glowing with patriotic fires ! He is gone ! The tomb hides all that the world could scarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory ; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country ; and his example ; *that* let us endeavour, by delineating, to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, Wisdom in her treasury.

Peace then to your sorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I desire less to give utterance to the feelings of this age, than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfully represent the illustrious dead, as history will paint, as posterity will behold him.

With whatever fidelity I might execute this task, I know that some would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON represented of a giant's size, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reason, would not be satisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unless, in the exhibition, it should be so distorted into prodigy, as to be both in-

credible and useless. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON should think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the search for mean and selfish motives, that could incite and sustain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not these suggestions sound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a strict scrutiny. The world, in passing the judgment that is never to be reversed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied; for its justice will confer glory.

Such a life as WASHINGTON's cannot derive honour from the circumstances of birth and education, though it throws back a lustre upon both. With an inquisitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by passions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had so early laid up a life's stock of materials for solid reflection, or settled so soon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience listened to his counsels with respect; and at a time when youth is almost privileged to be rash, Virginia committed the safety of her frontier, and ultimately the safety of America, not merely to his valour, for that would be scarcely praise; but to his prudence.

It is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambushes, the suddenness of his onset, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The soul of WASHINGTON was thus exercised to danger; and on the first trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adversity, cool in action, undaunted, self-possessed. His spirit, and still more his prudence, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat, diffused his name

throughout America, and across the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her most hopeful son.

At the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in consequence of her victories, stood in a position to prescribe her own terms. She chose, perhaps, better for us than for herself: for, by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hostile neighbours; and we soon found just cause to be afraid of our protectors. We discerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has since so strongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak States can give, that will satisfy strong allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have masters. Our settlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increased; and it was discovered, that America was growing to a size that could defend itself.

In this, perhaps unforeseen, but at length obvious state of things, the British government conceived a jealousy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended measures of precaution, they made no secret.

Thus it happened, that their foresight of the evil aggravated its symptoms and accelerated its progress. The colonists perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection, and resolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly resolved! for had we submitted to the British claims of right, we should have had, if any, less than our ancient liberty, and held what might have been left by a worse tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counsel from its courage. When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in distress, his obedience was prompt; and though his sacrifices were great, they cost him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our history is but a transcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear testimony, that they are claims not to be satisfied.

When overmatched by numbers ; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful soldiers ; the States as much exhausted as dismayed ; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there resources to retrieve our affairs. We have seen him display as much valour as gives fame to heroes, and as consummate prudence as insures success to valour ; fearless of dangers that were personal to him ; hesitating and cautious, when they affected his country ; preferring fame before safety or repose, and duty before fame.

Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution with order.

The event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its Chief. Until that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprisingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods inclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they saw, was elate with her victories : Europe stood in awe of her power : her arms made the thrones of the most powerful unsteady, and disturbed the tranquillity of their States, with an agitation more extensive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to shake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hostility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies : in the wilds of Africa, it obstructed the commerce in slaves. The whales, finding, in time of war, a respite from their pursuers, could venture to sport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, suddenly, astonished Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short. The events of that war were so many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point. They allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due to transcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They considered us a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and distorting all their representations, assisted to establish the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practise industry amidst the abundance that requires none; that we have morals so refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to consider their execution as an insult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weaknesses, sentiment without passions, and liberty without factions. These illusions, in spite of their absurdity, and, perhaps, because they are absurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the malecontents against the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illusions are too soothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans. They have been pernicious, as they cherish false ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty where it is not, and to consider the government, which is its castle, as its prison.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world followed him. He left his countrymen to their simplicity and their passions, and their glory soon departed. Europe began to be undeceived; and it seemed for a time, as if, by the acquisition of

independence, our citizens were disappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to establish justice, to insure the tranquillity, and provide for the security, of the nation ;" and accordingly, union was a name that still commanded reverence, though not obedience. The system called justice was, in some of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles ; and the public tranquillity was such a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the explosion of an earthquake. Most of the States then were, in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reason, it is true, spoke audibly in their Constitutions ; passion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honour of Massachusetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the causes of a dangerous rebellion. It was scarcely possible that such governments should not be agitated by parties, and that prevailing parties should not be vindictive and unjust. Accordingly, in some of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws ; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be persecutors ; and, by the shock of all confidence and faith, society was shaken to its foundations. Liberty we had ; but we dreaded its abuse almost as much as its loss ; and the wise, who deplored the one, clearly foresaw the other.

The States were also becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impost, was for years levied by some of the commercial States upon their neighbours. Measures of retaliation were resorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the resentments, whose never-failing progress among States, is more injustice, vengeance, and war.

The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already sharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three separate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progress of licentiousness would have soon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them. An age of blood and

misery would have punished our disunion. But these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose, while there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favour it.

At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting, who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power. That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honour on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well-disposed among the less informed citizens, and, blessed be God! the Constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honour of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and fears, which well-meaning prejudice creates for itself, and which party so artfully inflames into stubbornness; in spite of the vice, which it has subjected to restraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in spite of the oligarchies in some of the States, from whom it snatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happiness: invaluable! if the retrospect of the dangers we have escaped, shall sufficiently inculcate the principles we have so tardily established. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without suffering much to deepen the impression: for experience brandishes in her school a whip of scorpions, and teaches nations her summary lessons of wisdom by the scars and wounds of their adversity.

The amendments which have been projected in some of the States shew, that in them at least, these lessons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, some powerful, others weak, the weakness of the

Federal Union will, sooner or later, encourage, and will not restrain, the ambition and injustice of the members. The weak can no otherwise be strong or safe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect, which the blind jealousy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong, that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever existed.

Although it was impossible that such merit as WASHINGTON's should not produce envy, it was scarcely possible that, with such a transcendent reputation, he should have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen President of the United States.

As a general and a patriot, the measure of his glory was already full: there was no fame left for him to excel but his own; and even that task, the mightiest of all his labours, his civil magistracy has accomplished.

No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. The governments of Europe had seen the old Confederation sinking, squalid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic rise suddenly from the ground, and, throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the stature and proportions of a young giant, refreshed with sleep. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labours; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid, to consist with the purity and simplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labours of the President were incessant: his exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public service: able officers were selected, only for their merits; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the public business. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts

of beneficence. Though it has made many thousand malecontents, it has never, by its rigour or injustice, made one man wretched.

Such was the state of public affairs : and did it not seem perfectly to insure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens ? did they not, in respect to their government and its administration, possess their whole heart's desire ? They had seen and suffered long the want of an efficient constitution : they had freely ratified it : they saw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, invested with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Consider, for a moment, what a reputation it was : such as no man ever before possessed by so clear a title, and in so high a degree. His fame seemed in its purity to exceed even its brightness : office took honour from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition stood awed and darkened by his shadow. For where, through the wide earth, was the man so vain as to dispute precedence with him ? or what were the honours that could make the possessor WASHINGTON's superior ? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the gross could discern in his life the infinite superiority of her rewards. Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness : the splendour of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame ; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

This is not exaggeration : never was confidence in a man and a chief magistrate more widely diffused, or more solidly established.

If it had been in the nature of man that we should enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under these circumstances, to expect it : but it was impossible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will

seem strange, but it scarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free state in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no contests, and are not anxious to know how they shall use it. The spirit of discontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and sighs itself to rest. The people sleep soundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They lose their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals : a state of degradation, in which they extort our scorn, and engage our pity, for the misery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a base one, and fit only for a slave's bosom, that would not bleed freely, rather than submit to such a condition ; for liberty, with all its parties and agitations, is more desirable than slavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once subsisted in its excess, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and glistening to the last with the blaze of the very fire that consumed it ?

I do not know that I ought, but I am sure that I do, prefer those republics to the dozing slavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have suffered scorn till they merit it, where they tread on classic ground, on the ashes of heroes and patriots, unconscious of their ancestry, ignorant of the nature, and almost of the name of liberty, and insensible even to the passion for it. Who, on this contrast, can forbear to say, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that sleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkish darkness ? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is still bright with glory, still fresh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a less exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that those who profess to be its most passionate admirers have, generally, the least comprehension of its hazards and impediments : they expect that an enthusiastic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irksomeness of its restraints. Delusive

expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his solemn warning against the often fatal propensities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often false to their country and their honour, false to duty and even to their interest; but multitudes of men are never long false or deaf to their passions; these will find obstacles in the laws, associates in party. The fellowships thus formed are more intimate, and impose commands more imperious, than those of society.

Thus party forms a state within the state, and is animated by a rivalry, fear, and hatred, of its superior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become fresh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as soon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obstacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to surmount them both. For this, the greatest of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government must possess sufficient strength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This interior strength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unless it could be reinforced from without by the zeal and patriotism of the citizens; and this latter resource was certainly as accessible to President WASHINGTON, as to any chief magistrate that ever lived. The life of the Federal Government, he considered, was in the breath of the people's nostrils: whenever they should happen to be so infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end must be as speedy, and might be as tragical, as a constitution for France.

* While the President was thus administering the government, in so wise and just a manner, as to engage

* The Government of Massachusetts has manifested more than once, and so lately as the last year, a wise discernment of the pernicious tendency of certain usurping claims by States, and of changes proposed to abolish, under the name of amending, the Constitution.

The example has had its proper weight to produce, in other States, a like zealous and prompt support of the National Government.

Long may such patriotic zeal continue, and ever may its efforts obtain a like success!

the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its support, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progress, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occasion, detain you to express, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its despotism, by the mob or the military, from the first, and its hypocrisy of morals to the last. Scenes have passed there which exceed description, and which, for other reasons, I will not attempt to describe; for it would not be possible, even at this distance of time, and with the sea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving horror gather, like a frost, about the heart, and almost stop its pulse. That revolution has been constant in nothing but its vicissitudes, and its promises; always delusive but always renewed, to establish philosophy by crimes, and liberty by the sword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a soldier's helmet: and, with all their imitation of dictators and consuls, their exactest similitude to these Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another resemblance, in their all-conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the measures of the President, that belongs to my subject. It would be ingratefully wrong to his character to be silent in respect to a part of it, which has the most signally illustrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that revolution is not even yet so well understood as the dictates of self-preservation require it should be. The chief duty and care of all governments is to protect the rights of property, and the tranquillity of society. The leaders of the French revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor against the rich: this has made the rich poor,

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but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were used only as blind instruments to make those leaders masters, first of the adverse party, and then of the state. Thus the powers of the state were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preserve tranquillity and restrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and still is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ship, and if any right or possession has escaped confiscation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well ordered society. It is a danger, similar in its kind, and at least equal in degree, to that, with which ancient Rome menaced her enemies. The allies of Rome were slaves; and it cost some hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can trust no better to treaties; they cannot even trust to arms, unless they are used with a spirit and perseverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the first, hostile to all right and justice, to all peace and order in society; and, therefore, its very existence has been a state of warfare against the civilized world, and most of all against free and orderly republics. For such are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of destruction. Accordingly, scarcely any but republics have they subverted. Such governments, by shewing in practice what republican liberty *is*, detect French imposture, and shew what their pretexts are *not*.

To subvert them, therefore, they had, besides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greatest obstacles into their most efficient auxiliaries.

Who then, on careful reflection, will be surprised, that the French and their partizans instantly conceived the desire, and made the most powerful attempts, to revolutionize the American government? But it will hereafter seem strange that their excesses should be excused, as the effects of a struggle for liberty, and that so many of our citizens should be flattered, while they were insulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles pursued. Nothing was ever more false, or more fascinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the dispersion of our people on farms, and on the almost equal diffusion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whose authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all these produce on public opinion, before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is restraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning sun of our summer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the sun, when his rays dart pestilence on the sands of Africa. American liberty calms and restrains the licentious passions, like an angel that says to the winds and troubled seas, Be still. But how has French licentiousness appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, represent her as a monster, with eyes that flash wild-fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that shakes the foundation of the hills? She stands, and her ambition measures the earth; she speaks, and an epidemic fury seizes the nations.

Experience is lost upon us, if we deny, that it had seized a large part of the American nation. It is as sober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have passions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulse, which, for a time, misled us.

Jacobinism had become here, as in France, rather a sect than a party; inspiring a fanaticism that was equal.

ly intolerant and contagious. The delusion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority without proof; and jealous enough to exact acquiescence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progress was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing seemed amiable, but the revolutionary justice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and justice of America. The very name of Patriots was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party discerned its intimate connexion of interest with France, and consummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

The views of these allies required that this country should engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing less would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: nothing less would insure the subjection of America, as a satellite to the ambition of France: nothing else could make a revolution here perfectly inevitable.

For this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the moment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated passions should be in fusion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and consume the peace and government of our country.

The systematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were successively pursued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be soon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worst of evils in this worst of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were proposed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for States. In another State, a rebellion was fomented by the agent

of France: and who, without fresh indignation, can remember, that the powers of Government were openly usurped; troops levied, and ships fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our Government consider without dread, that, soon afterwards, the treaty making power was boldly challenged for a branch of the government, from which the Constitution has wisely withholden it.

I am oppressed, and know not how to proceed with my subject—WASHINGTON, blessed be God! who endued him with wisdom and clothed him with power—WASHINGTON issued his proclamation of neutrality, and, at an early period, arrested the intrigues of France and the passions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

This act of firmness, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the first of patriots. Time was gained for the citizens to recover their virtue and good sense, and they soon recovered them. The crisis was passed, and America was saved.

You and I, most respected fellow-citizens, should be sooner tired than satisfied in recounting the particulars of this illustrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he administered the Government, how much greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the chief military command under his wife and upright successor, how his life was unspotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are so many distinct subjects of instruction, and each of them singly more than enough for an elogium. I leave the task, however, to history and to posterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impossible, that some will affect to consider the honours paid to this great patriot by the nation, as excessive, idolatrous, and degrading to freemen, who are all equal. I answer, that refusing to virtue its legitimate honours would not prevent their being lavished, in future, on any worthless and ambitious favourite. If this day's example should have its natural

effect, it will be salutary. Let such honours be so conferred only when, in future, they shall be so merited: then the public sentiment will not be misled, nor the principles of a just equality corrupted. The best evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has scarcely appeared a really great man, whose character has been more admired in his life time, or less correctly understood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no easy task to delineate its excellencies in such a manner, as to give to the portrait both interest and resemblance. For it requires thought and study to understand the true ground of the superiority of his character over many others, whom he resembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the steadiness of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the same maxims. These maxims, though wise, were yet not so remarkable for their wisdom, as for their authority over his life: for if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he discovered as few as any man) we know of no blemishes in his virtue. He was the patriot without reproach: he loved his country well enough to hold his success in serving it an ample recompense. Thus far self-love and love of country coincided: but when his country needed sacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did not even hesitate. This was virtue in its most exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reason to think it would be sacrificed, at least in this age. Two instances cannot be denied: when the army was disbanded; and again, when he stood, like LEONIDAS at the pass of Thermopylæ, to defend our independence against France.

It is indeed almost as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of virtue. The reasons are similar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obscure, because

they are complex, and we are obliged to resort to illustrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happiest to shew what virtue is ; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue : much must be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not so much to be seen in the display of any one virtue, as in the possession of them all, and in the practice of the most difficult. Hereafter therefore his character must be studied before it will be striking ; and then it will be admitted as a model ; a precious one to a free republic !

It is no less difficult to speak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind ; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being misled by them. In this he was certainly superior, that he neither mistook nor misapplied his own. His great modesty and reserve would have concealed them, if great occasions had not called them forth ; and then, as he never spoke from the affectation to shine, nor acted from any sinister motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatness and extent. In public trusts, where men, acting conspicuously, are cautious, and in those private concerns, where few conceal or resist their weaknesses, WASHINGTON was uniformly great ; pursuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were such, as assist a sound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was consummate, and seemed to take the direction of his powers and passions ; for, as a soldier, he was more solicitous to avoid mistakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant ; and as a statesman, to adhere to just principles, however old, than to pursue novelties ; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were singularly adapted to the interest, and were tried in the greatest perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were so far remarkable, that he was never satisfied with investigating, nor desisted from it, so long as he had less than all the

light that he could obtain upon a subject ; and then he made his decision without bias.

This command over the partialities that so generally stop men short, or turn them aside, in their pursuit of truth, is one of the chief causes of his unwearied course of right conduct in so many difficult scenes, where every human actor must be presumed to err.

If he had strong passions, he had learned to subdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weaknesses, he concealed them, which is rare ; and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is still more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed is of the kind that will last forever ; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future Plutarch will search for a parallel to his character. Epaminondas is perhaps the brightest name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON resembled him in the purity and ardour of his patriotism ; and like him, he first exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends : for Thebes fell with Epaminondas. But such comparisons cannot be pursued far, without departing from the similitude. For we shall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts : others, for the majestic silence and fullness of their streams : we cannot bring them together to measure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame, yet courted by it, seemed, like the Ohio, to choose its long way through solitudes, diffusing fertility ; or like his own Potowmac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the sea, and displaying most the usefulness and serenity of his greatness towards the end of his course. Such a citizen would do honour to any country. The constant veneration and affection of

his country will shew, that it was worthy of such a citizen.

However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magistracy, that his example will instruct them. Great Generals have arisen in all ages of the world, and perhaps most in those of despotism and darkness. In times of violence and convulsion, they rise, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the storm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a splendour, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing visible but the darkness. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: they multiply in every long war: they stand in history, and thicken in their ranks, almost as undistinguished as their own soldiers.

But such a chief magistrate as WASHINGTON, appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it assumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues. As the best illustration of them, the living monument, to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame, it is my earnest prayer to Heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON'S.

An Eulogy

ON THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND SERVICES
OF BROTHER GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Pronounced before the Fraternity of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS,
by Request of the GRAND LODGE, at BOSTON, February 11, 1800.

BY BROTHER TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

— The *caffia* shall forever bloom o'er his head ; for he hath gone down
cloudless in the *West*, "ripe in years and full of glory."

BRETHREN OF THE MASONIC FRATERNITY, AND
FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THIS RESPECTABLE AUDIENCE,

THOUGH silence be justly considered the language of grief, yet it is equivocal. Hypocrisy or indifference may assume it. On great occasions, therefore, it becomes a duty to vindicate our feelings, though it be impossible fully to express them. Highly laudable then is the conduct of our generous nation, at the present mournful crisis. While all classes of our fellow-citizens, obedient to the injunctions, and imitating the example of Congress, are pouring forth their sorrows, and recounting the virtues of the deceased WASHINGTON ; while the great and good of other nations are mingling their regrets with the lamentations of his afflicted countrymen—shall the Masonic Fraternity be silent ? Suppress their grief they cannot ; and shall they attempt to conceal it ? No, my brethren, he had a double claim to our attachment ; and we will dwell on his memory with peculiar affection. If our departed brother yet takes an interest in what passes upon earth ; if his blest shade still hovers over the country which he protected and loved, may we not hope that our tribute of respect will be acceptable ; that our united plaudit may even

touch his immortal soul with pleasure? A hope like this would soften our pangs, and dart a ray of comfort through the gloom of affliction which surrounds us. But ah, how unlike are our present emotions, at best, to those we have been wont to indulge on the returns of this anniversary! Long have we been accustomed to hail it with joy, and regard it as the era of Heaven's peculiar favour to our country. Blind to futurity, we have fondly hoped that he would yet continue many years; that he would long defend us with his sword, and bless us with his counsels; that he would glide gently down the declivity of life, majestic as some mighty river, and late, very late, sink in the ocean of eternity. So long shall we deplore his apparently untimely departure. So long will this returning day call forth the mingled emotions of joy and mourning. But future times will again regard it as auspicious. Our remotest posterity, inheriting our freedom and independence, and that happy Constitution which alone can secure them, will never be unmindful of the Master, who presided at the building of the fair fabric of political glory, or forget that on this day WASHINGTON was born.

When we see a whole nation of freemen in tears, disconsolate for the death of a fellow-citizen, what words can swell his panegyric? Indeed, the people of the United States exhibit a spectacle that is scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of mankind. Nations, it is true, have often assumed the garb of sorrow, and pompously displayed the emblems of grief for the death of emperors or kings. But it was when obedience, perhaps reluctant, was yielded to the orders of a successor; or when, for reasons of state, mourning was established by laws. Under such circumstances, appearances may be deceptive: but, on our happy shores, we fear no tyrant frown; we need nothing extraneous to prompt our sighs; our sorrows are the spontaneous effusion of grateful hearts; they demonstrate our respect to be sincere; and are scarce less

honourable to the nation than to the memory of him whose death they deplore. Still more striking is another view of this interesting scene. Rarely has the world done justice to the merit of the great, while living : it has often ungenerously persecuted its best benefactors, or suffered them to pine in the gloom of neglect. Socrates, though a luminary to his own and future times, in science and in virtue, was condemned by his infatuated countrymen to death. Belisarius, who conquered a kingdom for his master, was suffered ignominiously to beg his bread.* Columbus, who gave a new world to mankind, was loaded with chains, and pursued with insatiate rancour to his grave. Americans are more just : while the great WASHINGTON was yet alive, they knew how to appreciate the mighty blessing. Let us exult in the remembrance that they long since hailed him the FIRST OF MEN ; that they twice invested him with the chief command of their armies ; that with their unanimous suffrages they twice raised him to the dignity of supreme magistracy ; that their united acclamations and fervent blessings followed him in his repeated retirement from office ; that he lived in honour, and died in glory. Yes, they even claim from his family a right to share their afflictions ; with them to mourn their deceased father, to plant the cypress on his grave, and water it with their tears. Heaven surely approves this conduct : Heaven will continue to distinguish a people duly sensible of their blessings.

Voluminous would be a detail of all the meritorious actions, or even of the great achievements of our departed friend. To recount his heroic deeds, would be but to recite the history of his country, while he was in the field ; would be but to repeat what thousands have already told, what many of you, my auditors, have personally witnessed, what even his vanquished enemies

* Though the truth of this anecdote be questioned by writers of eminence, it is nevertheless supported by good authorities of ancient date ; and it is agreed by all, that Belisarius was at one time unjustly deprived both of his honours and estates.

have published to the world. O that we could analyze his mighty mind ; that we could ascertain the elements of this splendid luminary in the moral world ; that we could with unerring eye trace on the intellectual map the path which he pursued to immortal happiness and fame !

It has not unfrequently happened, that the possession of a single estimable talent in a high degree has rendered an individual an object of admiration to mankind. The military prowess of Alexander, besides subjecting the world to his dominion, procured him the title of *Great* ; and in the opinion of a superstitious age, enrolled him among the gods. Solon and Lycurgus acquired immortal renown for their wisdom as legislators. Nobility was considered a poor reward for Chatham's merit as a statesman. Sully has been justly celebrated for cultivating the arts of peace. These talents all centered in our great countryman, without their kindred vices, rashness, severity, pride or supineness.

Judging the conduct of others by the inadequate standard formed in their own narrow minds, there were not wanting those, who, at one time, dared even to question his ability for the command of our revolutionary army. The Fabian policy, which induced him to avoid a decisive engagement with the invading enemy, at that time drew upon him an ill-judged imputation of timidity and indecision. But the illusion was transitory. It was soon perceived that the error was in the optics of his accusers ; that the mist of ignorance which had enveloped them, had never obscured the sunshine of intelligence which constantly beamed on him. This very conduct is now universally acknowledged to be among the most decisive proofs of his greatness ; without which, the issue of the contest, if not ruinous to our country, would at best have been extremely problematical. His penetration taught him that his countrymen were daily becoming more formidable, by experience in discipline

and the duties of the camp; by habits of danger and an increasing knowledge of the art of war; while none of these advantages attached to their enemies. Remote from the source of supplies, their subsistence was precarious; and the waste of troops, necessarily occasioned by the casualties of war, was repaired with difficulty. To them, therefore, delay was defeat. Regardless of the mistaken or invidious suggestions which his prudence might draw upon him, he discerned the path of safety for his country, and steadily pursued it. It is strange that at that period his courage or his conduct could have been distrusted. Previous to that, at a time when the clouds of despondency overspread our hemisphere with their deepest shade, when despair had almost lost her energy, he had in person, with a handful of troops, gallantly surprised, defeated, and captured a numerous enemy at Trenton; and, eluding the vigilance of an army sufficiently powerful to have crushed him, again astonished his adversaries by the brilliant victory at Princeton. On that memorable occasion, he at one moment exhibited a spectacle anxiously interesting to his companions in arms. From the necessity of rallying a disordered part of his troops, he intrepidly placed himself in their front, and led them on to the charge. More eager to repair their disgrace, than attentive to the peril of his personal situation, they rashly renewed the engagement while he was at their head; and thus he was for some time exposed to the fire of both the contending armies.

But whatever ungenerous surmises might at any time have been indulged by the heedless or envious, the voice of murmuring had been silenced before the victory at Monmouth. After that event, he was the object of uninterrupted confidence to his country, and of terror to her foes; till, by annihilating the power of the invaders by the splendid reduction of Yorktown, he put a glorious period to the war; and the admiring world pronounced his character as a General consummate!

Having finished his military career, and entered on the tranquil scenes of retirement, for which he had a peculiar fondness, it seemed generally to be thought that his public life was finished. As yet, however, he had executed but in part Heaven's high commission. Few, perhaps, had hitherto perceived in him that universality of mind, which has enabled him successively to adorn every station he has filled. Modest and unassuming in his deportment, he never indulged in a pompous display of talents unimportant to the duties before him; but unfolding them as exigencies required, he was always equal to the occasion. When the deserved partiality of the electors in his native State delegated him to the General Convention, and the respect of that body placed him in their chair, he there discovered the qualities of a great legislator, and eminently contributed to the production of that instrument, which is justly considered a model of political wisdom, and which, we trust, will long secure that liberty which his valour had achieved.

As a statesman he was yet untried. But gratitude for his services, respect for his character, and confidence in his integrity, impelled his fellow-citizens, with one consent, to elevate him to the dignity of President. As if this had been his peculiar province, he here shone with unrivalled lustre. His administration was a satire on those who are born to rule. Making the general good the sole object of his pursuit, and carefully distinguishing the attention which was due from him as an individual to the claims of relation and friendship, from the duties he owed to the public, he never yielded to the influence of private partiality, nor stooped to the low policy of aggrandizing his family by the gifts of office. He bestowed employments on those only, who added to integrity the qualities necessary to discharge them. Patient in investigation, and cautious in research, he formed his resolutions with deliberation, and executed them with decision. Conscious of the purity of his motives, and satisfied with the propriety

of his determinations ; duly estimating also the sacred duty of maintaining the constitutional rights of his office, he was not to be soothed into dishonourable compliance by the blandishments of flattery, nor diverted from his purposes by the terror of numbers, or the imposing weight of public character. When a revolution, unprecedented in its kind, had involved the European world in confusion, and the flame of war was spreading into other quarters of the globe, neither the insidious attempts of the emissaries of France, nor the treacherous arts of her American adherents, could induce him to hazard our quiet. Though himself a soldier, and equal to the emergencies of war, he perceived not only that the true interests of his country, but justice and humanity enjoined a continuance of peace. He therefore wisely adjusted the misunderstandings which threatened our tranquillity, and resolved on a strict neutrality. Our own experience, and the events which have since transpired in other countries, have fully justified the measure. Yet, strange to tell, disappointed faction despairing of success in an impeachment of his discernment or understanding, has dared here to arraign the purity of his motives. Circumstances seem to have placed him beyond the reach of suspicion. His wealth was more than sufficient for all the purposes of splendid enjoyment ; he had no posterity to inherit hereditary honours ; and he was surely too wise not to know that a crown would tarnish his glory ; that his own reputation was inseparably connected with the prosperity of his country ; that his fame would mount no higher than her eagle could soar. What more than he possessed, could ambition pant for ? What further had the world to bestow ? Where then are these accusers, these self-imagined models of perfection, who can show us where WASHINGTON was wrong, where they would have conducted with more wisdom and integrity ? Do they too join the general acclamations, or are they silent ? If there are those upon earth who renounce all

pretensions to morality, who disclaim the obligations of gratitude, who dare even refuse to ascribe glory to God, (and we have too much evidence of the melancholy fact) can a mortal expect justice from them? But how transcendent must be that greatness, which either extorts applause from its enemies, or awes them into silence!

About to relinquish the toils of his arduous station, and retire once more to that domestic repose which he had left with reluctance, and which his declining years now seemed to require, he could not close his public life without an act peculiarly appropriate to his character, and which fully demonstrates that ardent attachment to his country, which governed all his conduct. His farewell advice discloses an intimate knowledge of the internal concerns, foreign relations, present and future interests of the United States, sufficient of itself to have entitled its author to fame. But when it is considered as the result of an intelligence adequate to the subject, as the fruit of personal experience matured by profound meditation, and in which no motive could have operated but the welfare and glory of the nation, we may safely pronounce it an oracle of political truth; a palladium, which, while carefully preserved, will perpetuate our union and independence; an amulet, which, if constantly improved, will render the body politic invulnerable, we might almost say immortal.

In WASHINGTON occurred a union rarely to be found, of greatness and goodness. Courage, wisdom, and magnanimity, those eminent qualities, which embrace the whole community in their operation, were not those only which distinguished his character. He was equally remarkable for the less splendid, though not less amiable virtues, which more immediately respected himself, his family, and friends. However the abundance of his means, or his long and familiar intercourse with the world might have exposed him to

temptation, he preserved his morals not only pure, but even unfulled by the breath of suspicion. However the applause of mankind, and the wealth and honours which Fortune, no longer blind, bestowed on him with a liberal hand, might have attached him to the world, he never forgot that he was mortal, and destined to another state of existence. In him religion was a steady principle of action. It not only taught him fortitude in danger, and patience under misfortunes, but instructed him in the yet harder lesson of moderation, of even humility in the full swell of prosperity. How often does history inform us of commanders, transported with the tide of success, and grown giddy in its eddies, forgetting their dependence, and arrogating even divine honours ! As a counterpart to this, our annals may record the concluding passage of the general orders, published on the surrender of Yorktown. " Divine service shall be performed to-morrow, in the different brigades and divisions. The Commander in Chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour, claims."

That WASHINGTON was affectionate and endearing in his conjugal relation, the anguish of his widowed wife sufficiently evinces : and no language can do so much justice to her sensibility, as her own affecting answer to the condolence of Congress, and her more recent return of thanks for those expressions of sympathy, which you, my respected brethren, thought it your duty to communicate to her. That he was compassionate and humane, is honourably told by the tears of his disconsolate domestics. That he was benevolent, his emancipated slaves will long remember, and even their posterity acknowledge with gratitude. How amiable, how consistent is the character of this illustrious man ! Himself the champion of political freedom, he disdained to hold his fellow-creatures in abject domes-

tic servitude. An advocate for mild and equal laws, he disclaimed the right of unlimited control over the actions of others. Not satisfied with barely restoring to them that freedom, of which, in common with their countrymen, a cruel policy had deprived them, but yielding to the claims of justice, though unaided by law, he gave them in a freehold the hire that had not been stipulated, and blest them at once with competency and independence. Highly honourable would it be to our fellow-citizens in the South, if this magnanimous example should have its proper effect; if, in their treatment of the wretches subjected to their power, they would emulate the benevolence of WASHINGTON; if, obedient like him to the voice of humanity, justice and religion, they would abandon the savage claim of holding human beings in slavery, and repeal every statute in their code, which countenances a principle so derogatory to the laws of freemen.

Having already contemplated such a variety of distinguishing features in this great and amiable character, does it still admit of addition? Is there room in the portrait for another trace of the faithful pencil, that will increase its beauty? Yes, my brethren, to us another and no less interesting view remains. Animated with a generous philanthropy, our deceased Brother early sought admission into our ancient and honourable fraternity, at once to enable him to cherish with advantage this heavenly principle, and enlarge the sphere of its operation. He cultivated our art with sedulous attention, and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interest or promoting the honour of the *craft*. While Commander in Chief of the American revolutionary army, he countenanced the establishment and encouraged the labours of a travelling Lodge among the military. He wisely considered it as a school of urbanity, well calculated to disseminate those mild virtues of the heart, so ornamental to the human character, and so peculiarly useful to correct the ferocity of soldiers, and alleviate the miseries of war. The cares

of his high office engrossed too much of his time to admit of his engaging in the duties of the chair ; yet he found frequent opportunities to visit the Lodge, and thought it no derogation from his dignity there to stand on a *level* with the brethren. True to our principles on all occasions, an incident once occurred, which enabled him to display their influence to his foes. A body of American troops, in some successful rencounter with the enemy, possessed themselves, among other booty, of the jewels and furniture of a British travelling Lodge of Masons. This property was directed by the Commander in Chief to be returned under a flag of truce to its former proprietors, accompanied with a message, purporting that the Americans did not make war upon institutions of benevolence.

Of his attachment to our order in general, you, my respected brethren of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of this Commonwealth, have had personal knowledge. His answers to your repeated addresses, breathe throughout the spirit of brotherly love ; and his affectionate return of thanks for the Book of Constitutions, which you presented him, and for the honour, as he was pleased to consider it, which you did him in the dedication, must be evidence highly satisfactory of the respectful estimation in which he held you. The information received from our brethren, who had the happiness to be members of the Lodge over which he presided many years, and of which he died the Master, furnishes abundant proof of his persevering zeal for the prosperity of the institution. Constant and punctual in his attendance, scrupulous in his observance of the regulations of the Lodge, and solicitous at all times to communicate light and instruction, he discharged the duties of the chair with uncommon dignity and intelligence in all the mysteries of our art. Nothing can more highly conduce to the prosperity and honour of Masonry, than a successful imitation of this bright example. It cannot fail of its effect upon our brethren in its immediate neighbour-

hood in the south ; they will beautify their column. And shall we be outdone in zeal ? Placed geographically in the East, in a quarter of the Union from which the nation has been accustomed to learn wisdom, it should be our peculiar care to diffuse light through the temple of Masonry. As it is known that we shared largely in the esteem and affection of our deceased brother, it is easy to perceive that our good conduct will itself be an encomium on his memory. We see before us, among the sad emblems of mortality, not only the sword which in this neighbourhood he drew in defence of his country, but also the very attire which he has often worn as a Mason. How devoutly is it to be wished, that these striking memorials may stimulate us to a noble emulation ; that, like the mantle of Elijah, they may inspire us with an unalterable attachment to virtue and benevolence ! This day witnesses to the world in what veneration we hold the memory of departed greatness : let not the solemnity be without its appropriate effect upon ourselves. While with funeral pomp and Masonic honours, we celebrate the obsequies of our deceased brother, while we bend with anguish over the urn which contains a part of what was mortal in him,* let us like him remember, that we are animated with a heavenly flame, which the chill damps of death cannot extinguish ; like him resolve to *square* our actions by the *rules* of *rectitude*, persevere in the *line* of our duty, and restrain our passions within the *compass* of propriety, knowing that the *all-seeing eye* of our *Supreme Grand Master* above continually observes us : that when we shall have performed the *task* assigned us here, we may, like him, be *called from our work to the refreshments* which alone can satisfy our immortal desires : that when we put off this earthly *clothing*, we may be arrayed with the garments of glory, put on the *jewels* of light, and shine forever in the sublime *arch* above.

* A lock of General WASHINGTON's hair was deposited in the urn borne in the Masonic funeral procession on this occasion.

An Eulogy

ON GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *BOSTON*, *February 19, 1800*, before the AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, by their Appointment.

BY JOHN DAVIS,

Member of the Academy, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

IN common instances of mortality, when a father or a friend returns to dust, we do not take our final adieu, though the funeral rites be accomplished. Grief first admits, then invites consolation, from conversing on the lives of the deceased: a recapitulation of their virtues and of their meritorious actions is like Ossian's music, at once "pleasant and mournful to the soul."

When the father of his country; when a nation's friend descends to the grave, it is fit that public commemorations should mingle with private condolence: that we should frequently call to view his revered image, and repeat our votive honours to him, who was never weary in contributing to our happiness.

With such impressions, my literary fathers and friends, you have appointed this solemn meeting: with such impressions only, could I prevail upon myself to attempt the task, which it has been your pleasure to assign to me.

Death has frequently taken a distinguished victim from the circle of your association. You have mourned the loss of the venerable BOWDOIN, your revered president, your liberal patron, the friend and promoter of all that was excellent and pure: the public spirited, the munificent HANCOCK: the classical, eloquent COOPER: CLARKE, in whom shone forth all the beauties of

holiness, whose pious lips were "wet with Castalian dews:" BELKNAP, learned, devout, and unaffected, worthy of being the biographer of WASHINGTON: SUMNER, the cherished ornament of the Commonwealth: to these, and many more of your beloved and respected associates you have bidden a sad farewell: they are removed from your pleasant meetings to the cold and silent mansions of the grave. This day you lament the loss of one, who was not indeed an attendant at your literary interviews; but who was still most dear: whose benign and happy influences travelled to their object, unimpeded by distance, like the mild and steady beams of planetary light.

"Thou sleepest the sleep of death, but we are not unmindful of thee, O Achilles: in life and in death, thou art equally the object of our regard and veneration." Thus sang the Grecian bard, to soothe the shade of a hero: with like affectionate reverence, with pious sensibilities, do we cherish thy memory, departed WASHINGTON, and pay repeated visits to thy tomb.

In contemplating a life, whose maturer portion was so singularly splendid, we are naturally prompted to look back to its commencement. Corresponding to that consistency of character, by which he was distinguished, marks of superiority are imprinted on the very threshold of his days.

In the early dawn of manhood, delicate and important public duties were committed to his charge. Then appeared some of those heroic virtues, that presaged his future greatness. Unshaken fortitude, firm perseverance, and sound discretion. Behold the intrepid messenger pursuing his weary way through a pathless wilderness. The assaults of the savage do not intimidate him: the severities of winter do not arrest his progress. He returns in safety and in honour: though Gallic artifice strewed his way with thorns: though the waters of the Alleghany had well nigh extinguished his valued life, when their impetuous current rolled

over his youthful head.* Illustrious man ! then, as in all thy life, the conscious satisfaction resulting from a faithful discharge of duty, was thy sufficient, thy best reward : but how might it have cheered thy exalted spirit to have known, that far beyond the limits of thy long and arduous journey should extend an empire, which should acknowledge thee, as the most distinguished instrument of its establishment !

The same memorable ground next becomes the theatre of his military achievements ; and at the early age of twenty-seven, he has attracted the admiration of his country, and retired to his beloved residence, with public testimonials of their approbation and regard.

Agricultural employments, domestic endearments, and the discharge of civic trusts dignify and adorn the next fifteen years of his interesting life. But not these alone. In that calm interval, when common minds might have been corrupted by indulgence, or benumbed with satiety, the superior mind of WASHINGTON was improving under the wholesome regimen of systematic discipline. Faithful to the high obligations of truth and duty, faithful to himself, he studied the various relations, that bind the man and the citizen, and, in the shade of peace and retirement, prescribed to himself those rules and maxims of conduct, on which was reared the lofty edifice of his fame.

With correct and extensive views of the rights and interests of his country ; with lively sensibilities, when they were invaded or endangered, he had a just title to the high honour of convening with that illustrious band of patriots and civilians, who composed the first national Council of United America. By that Council, faithful and intelligent, deeply impressed with the mighty interests intrusted to their care, and well apprized that the fate of their country depended on their choice, he is unanimously appointed to command the feeble armies of an oppressed people, against the veteran arms of the first European power. He suffers himself to be

* See his Journal, published in the Massachusetts Magazine, 1789.

advanced to that "painful pre-eminence," though his strong and comprehensive mind could not have been unmindful of the vast "sea of troubles," on which he was embarking.

With a less correct sense of public duty, he might have urged many claims to avoid the ponderous task; and in a dubious contest, multitudes from political opinion, and many, from an indulgent regard to an opulent and distinguished citizen, would have dignified the cautious decision with the name of wisdom. He listens to no such unworthy suggestion. He takes counsel with himself—He obeys the call of his country—He hastens to the scene of action; and at no period, perhaps, does his conduct appear more elevated and interesting, than at that impressive moment, when he placed himself at the head of his applauded band of undisciplined husbandmen, on yonder classic plains.

The purity and magnanimity, manifested by the acceptance of that arduous trust, taught his admiring country to expect, with firm reliance, that, with those hopeful pledges, were associated all the protecting train of martial and of manly virtues.

Those animating hopes were completely realized. Modelled by his great example, the camp became a school of virtue, as well as of military science. There were seen unshaken fidelity; un sullied honour; humane and social sympathies; pure love of country; respect for the magistracy, and reverence for the laws. He sustained the standard of American Liberty with energies suited to her character: tempering authority with mildness, bravery with discretion.—Intrepid in danger, clement in victory, undismayed by disaster, he bore the precious deposit through a long and perilous conflict, animated by the applauses of a grateful country and the admiration of the world.

The eventful occurrences, that developed his talents and his virtues, are too deeply impressed upon the memory of those whom I address, to require a repetition.

They were strongly associated with all you held most dear. Revolving years, life's multiplied concerns, a long and happy participation of succeeding peace and prosperity, have not effaced them from your remembrance. And ye, ingenuous youth, whose existence commenced in the AGE OF WASHINGTON, who have seen only his setting sun, in the mirror of history you will behold the bright reflection of his meridian beams. You will learn of your revered sires, how they were animated by their benign and cheering influence. Ask of those who bare you: they will tell you, how his guardian form dispelled distressing terrors, and protected by his arm, with what calm complacence they watched your infant slumbers.

The elevated sentiments and the expanded views, which inspired the mind of every active citizen, during the memorable contest for liberty and independence, were not satisfied with the firm pursuit, or the assured prospect of those interesting objects. During a struggle for political existence, you studied the liberal embellishments of a state, and like Pliny on Vesuvius, attended to the pursuits of science, undismayed by the thunder and the storm, by which you were assailed. This literary establishment was a child of the revolution. Europe beheld it with admiration. The friends of America contemplated it with delight. They considered it as affording renewed evidence, that you were resolved on the attainment of freedom, and were worthy of its enjoyment.

The illustrious man, whose loss we now deplore, was among the first of your elected associates. It was a time of multiplied calamities. The military operations of the enemy were to be opposed in five different States of the Union. A mind occupied with such immense concerns, could not be expected to apply itself to the immediate objects of your institution. Yet he accepts your invitation; looking forward, doubtless, to the happier days, when the arts of peace should succeed the horrors of war. As the first among the pub-

lic characters of the age ; as the pride and defence of your country, he was entitled to the earliest and most respectful expressions of your attention : but he was your associate by still more appropriate characters, by dispositions and accomplishments, altogether congenial to the nature and end of your institution.

It is among the declared objects of your inquiry, to examine the various soils of the country, to ascertain their natural growths and the different methods of culture : to promote and encourage agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce : to cultivate the knowledge of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses, to which its various productions may be applied.

Pursuits of this nature always commanded his attention, and to some of them he was peculiarly attached. They were frequently the topic of his conversation, and the subject of his correspondence, with ingenious and public spirited men, in different parts of the world.

With a mind well fitted to acquire just conceptions on any subject, to which his attention was directed, he would, I am persuaded, have been distinguished in the abstruser branches of science, if the course of life, which he had chosen, or to which he was impelled, had not been incompatible with the pursuit. In patient investigation, unwearied assiduity, and systematic arrangement, he was excelled by none. The uniform success, which attended his operations in military and political life, evinces great solidity of judgment : and he, who could produce such correct and prosperous results, in the great affairs of a nation, so liable to be defeated or impeded, by the ever varying humours and prejudices of men, with like application, might have been equally distinguished in the steady regions of science, whose permanent relations and connected truths, never fail to disclose themselves to industrious research and attentive contemplation.

But though a man of contemplative habits, he was still more fitted for action. It became necessary for the

repose and happiness of his country, that he should leave *the asylum of his declining years*. Obedient to that voice, which he could never hear but with *veneration and love*, he exchanges a retreat which he had chosen with the *fondest predilection*, for the anxieties and toils of political elevation. How was he honoured in the midst of the people, in coming forth from the shades of his retirement. "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud; and as the moon at the full; as the *sun*, shining upon the temple of the MOST HIGH; and as the rainbow, giving light in the bright cloud."*

The duties of an employment, which is accepted with reluctance, are frequently discharged with symptoms of weariness or disgust: but he engaged in the multiplied labours of his new and arduous station, as if it were the fond object of his choice; and though enjoying a weight of character, which would peculiarly facilitate his measures, yet he discovered a laudable solicitude, that they should possess an intrinsic propriety, and conducted himself with as much caution and circumspection, as if he were for the first time a candidate for public favour.

The interesting objects of his care, and their direct and intimate connexion with the solid interest and permanent welfare of his country were indeed congenial to the best wishes of his heart, and fitted to relieve the unavoidable solitudes of his station. To regard with comprehensive and equal eye the great assemblage of communities and interests over which he presided: to settle pure and solid foundations of national policy, consistent with the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven has ordained: to establish public credit: to revive mutual confidence: to introduce with the native tribes on the frontiers, a system, corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy: to provide for the national security, by suitable military establishments: to found the safety of the United States, on the basis of systematic and solid arrangement: to guard

* Ecclesiasticus.

against infractions of the laws of nations : to maintain a friendly intercourse with foreign powers : to exhibit that stability and wisdom in the public councils, which should be a just ground of public confidence : to adopt measures for the accomplishment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, and create a capacity of exacting from them the discharge of *their duties* towards us : to maintain to the United States their due rank among the nations of the earth : to vindicate the majesty of the laws, against violence and insurrection : to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of the Constitution : to extinguish the causes of external differences, on terms compatible with national rights and national honour : to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which national justice, dignity and safety might permit, and to exemplify the pre-eminence of a free government, by all the attributes, which might win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.*—

These were the momentous pursuits, which occupied his elevated mind, and engaged his warmest affections : for these purposes, he invited the aid and co-operation of the enlightened councils of the Union ; and in spite of the petulance of opposition, or the effusions of faction, his prosperous country and its grateful inhabitants, will testify that they have been accomplished.

With views and occupations, so comprehensive and elevated, he did not lose sight of *Learning* and of the *Arts*. “There is nothing,” said he, (in his address to the first Congress) “that can better deserve your attentive patronage, than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is, in every country, the surest basis of public happiness. In *one*, in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community, it is proportionably essential.” To the Trustees and Faculty of

* See WASHINGTON's speeches to Congress, from which the above summary of his presidential pursuits is selected, with little variation from his own impressive language.

the University of Pennsylvania, in reply to their respectful address, he acknowledges himself gratified *in being considered, by the patrons of literature, as one of their number* ; being fully apprized of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty and laws ; and expressing his confidence that *the same unremitting exertions, which under all the blasting storms of war, caused the arts and sciences to flourish in America, would bring them nearer to maturity, when invigorated by the milder rays of peace.* To the University of Harvard, he communicates his sincere satisfaction in learning the flourishing state of their literary republic. Unacquainted, he adds, *with the expression of sentiments which I do not feel, you will do me justice in believing, confidently, in my disposition to promote the interests of science and true religion.*

His closing address to Congress is enriched with like paternal sentiments ; and at a more solemn moment, when completing the last arrangement of his terrestrial concerns, he makes careful provision for a literary establishment which he had before emphatically recommended ; appropriating to the institution of a National University a very liberal donation, which his native State, as an expression of their grateful sense of his services, had placed at his disposal.

These expressions of his sentiments and views indicate the character, which he would probably prefer to sustain. Not merely that of a warrior, or statesman ; but as the enlightened friend of man, and all his best enjoyments : the advocate of religion : the supporter of virtue : and, to adopt the language of your charter, the cultivator or patron of “ every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, dignity and happiness of a free, independent and virtuous people.”

The artist who executed the statue which adorns the capital of Virginia, had just conceptions of the most appropriate character and attitude. Its simple *costume*, is well adapted to designate the founder and defender of

American liberty : the protector of agriculture : the representative of a happy and peaceful nation.

It would require little aid from the imagination, to render the significant emblem of your society an apt memorial of your late illustrious associate. Let Minerva, with the spear and shield, represent his venerable form. The implements of husbandry, the hill crowned with oaks, and the field of native grain, indicate his favourite employment. The rising city, the instruments of philosophy, the approaching ship, and the sun above the cloud, are lively images of the benign and happy influence of his life, on commerce and the arts, and the advancing greatness of his country.

While contemplating the character of WASHINGTON, in a literary point of view, I must not omit to consider his style. It is distinguished for purity, propriety, and precision ; and some of the most correct philologists have pronounced, that most of the qualities of a good style are united in his compositions. In his letters he is plain : in his public addresses elegant : in all he is correct, expressing in a small compass his clear conceptions, without tiresome verbosity, or any parade of ornament. In attending to what has fallen from his pen, the connexion between modes of thinking and writing ; between character and composition is apparent. His writings are marked with the strong and pleasing features of sincerity, simplicity and dignity.

It is the complaint of Livy, that eulogies, though an useful incitement to great and virtuous actions, tend to corrupt the truth of history. In this regard I have no apprehensions. I have ascribed no excellencies to the elevated character, which I have attempted to sketch, that you are not witnesses he possessed : but I sensibly feel, how imperfect will be the picture, which I shall have exhibited. With great sincerity, shall I adopt the *suspensive inscription* of the Grecian artists, expressing that they were employed in the execution of such a statue or picture, rather than that they had in any degree finished it.*

* Harris's Hermes.

An admired writer, speaking of the casual resemblances of persons and things, observes that in the revolution of ages, the wheels of fortune, will after a long interval run in the same track. I address myself to men, to whom the transactions of past ages are familiar, who have been accustomed to examine and to estimate the splendid characters that have attracted the attention of the world. Permit me to inquire if you have found the man, who in merit and in fame, in all the genuine ingredients of true glory and solid happiness, can be compared with our lamented Chief.

That rashness and excess, which tarnish the fame of *Macedonia's Madman* and the *Swede*, appear in many of the heroes of ancient and modern story. Some unworthy propensity, or some unhappy error is perceived amidst all the effulgence of their glory. Pompey could win the affections of the senate and the people of Rome, by disbanding his victorious armies and reassuming the humble air and deportment of a private citizen: but he could also descend to corrupt the people with money; to employ the vilest citizens to embarrass the magistrates in the execution of their functions, that his interposition might be rendered necessary by commotion: verifying the justice of the remark, that he could not resolve to usurp power, but would have been glad to have had it tendered to him as a gift.*

The celebrated reign of the philosophic emperor Marcus Antoninus is clouded by the indiscreet adoption of Commodus, and his too great indulgence of the infamous Faustina; by the elevation of her lovers to posts of honour; by decreeing her deification, and requiring the youth of Rome to pay their vows before her altars.

To the first Peter of Russia, the title of Great has been more permanent, than in most instances, in which it has been assumed or bestowed: but we are shocked at the recorded instances of his cruelties, and he is

* Montesqu.; Grand. & Decad. &c.

quoted by a celebrated theorist,* to exemplify the existence of public spirit, without the spirit of humanity.

Victor Amadeus, with apparent magnanimity, resigned his crown to his son, and sought the placid enjoyments of privacy and retreat. But his retirement became irksome to him : he languished for the re-enjoyment of power, caballed against his son and ended his days in a prison.

A Louis XIV. and a Frederic, with all the splendour of their lives, died without exciting any regrets : and a Marlborough, famed for his consummate prudence, as well as for his military achievements, was accused of the meanness of avarice, and of protracting a sanguinary war for the enlargement of property and power.

If I were to select the character, among the great men of antiquity, exhibiting the nearest resemblance to WASHINGTON, it would be Timoleon ; memorable for the defence and deliverance of Sicily, from external and internal foes ; for the establishment of civility and order ; and for the quiet enjoyment, to a revered and honourable old age, of the rewards of his virtuous labours, in the bosom of a grateful people. To that degree did he enjoy the affection of the Sicilians, says his biographer, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no political regulation made in a proper manner, unless revised and touched by him. He was the master-builder who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection ; though at that time Greece boasted a number of great men, whose achievements were highly distinguished. Timotheus, Agesilaus, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, (the last of whom Timeleon principally vied with in the race of glory) yet in this they differ from Timoleon, that we discover in their actions a certain labour and effort which diminishes their lustre, and some of them afforded room for censure, and were followed by repentance or remorse.

* Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments.

His trophies cost his fellow-citizens no tears, nor put any of them in mourning; and yet, in less than eight years he delivered Sicily from its intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants. His military labours finished, he returned to Syracuse, and laid down his command; excusing himself to the people from any further service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion. His old age was cherished as that of a common father. He died of a slight illness, co-operating with length of years. His funeral was attended by many thousands of men and women; crowned with garlands, and clothed in white. The lamentations mingled with the praises of the deceased, evinced that the honours paid him was not a matter of course, or in compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection.*

In this description, the analogy, which I have suggested, is apparent. In other particulars, there is no resemblance. Timoleon was a foreigner in Sicily. WASHINGTON had the supreme satisfaction of imbibing and displaying all his virtues and talents, in his own beloved country. As if to exemplify his own sage reflections upon the inexpediency of foreign education and accomplishments for an American citizen, he like

"The tall mast that bears our flag on high,
"Grew in OUR SOIL and ripen'd in OUR SKY."†

Timoleon was long wretched, if not guilty in the death of his brother, and was a prey to sorrow and remorse for the space of twenty years. No baleful domestic occurrence darkened the days of WASHINGTON. Troubles and anxieties, inseparable from the cup of life, doubtless assailed him; but those he sustained with dignity and equanimity.

Timoleon was censurable in causing the condemnation and the death of the wife and daughter of Icetas.

The tender sympathies of humanity were always cherished in the breast of WASHINGTON; and in a

* Plutarch's Life of Timoleon.

† J. Allen's Poems.

war peculiarly tending to kindle and inflame the human passions, he is chargeable with no instance of cruelty or revenge.

Timoleon was blind and helpless in his old age, and the respect with which he was regarded was mingled with pity; reminding us of Lucan's image of an aged tree, casting a shade only by its trunk. The declining years of WASHINGTON were without apparent decay. He seemed like the mountain oak; and to the last, we looked for shelter beneath its branches, against the impending storm.

In studying the character of WASHINGTON, we cannot refrain inquiring, by what principles or motives he was thus uniformly swayed to the practice of virtue and the steady pursuit of excellence. Much doubtless was due to his habitual respect for the approbation and esteem of his fellow-citizens: and in attributing the formation of his character and fame, in any degree, to this source, we pay a just tribute to his countrymen, a tribute, which he was ever prompt to bestow. It was owing to their *steady and strenuous support*; he acknowledges, that he did not *sink under the oppression* which occasionally assailed him. "Posterity," said he, "will regard with admiration and gratitude the patience, perseverance, and valour, which achieved our revolution: they will cherish the remembrance of virtues, which had but few parallels in former times, and which will add new lustre to the most splendid pages of history."* On such expressions, he appears to dwell with delight. Thus did Pyrrhus acknowledge his obligations to the Epirots, when honoured by them with the name of the Eagle. *If I am an Eagle, said he, it is upon your arms—upon your wings that I have risen.*

To this motive was added that delicate and refined MORAL SENSE, which is the guardian and protectress of all the virtues: which forbids committing any thing base or unworthy; any thing unbecoming the dignity

* Answer to the people of South-Carolina, 1790.

of man, a due reverence for himself, and the rank he holds in the scale of rational beings.

But above all, he was influenced by the more permanent and operative principle of religion: by the firm and active persuasion of an ALL-SEEING, ALL-POWERFUL DEITY: by the high consciousness of future accountability, and the assured hope and prospect of immortality. Contrasting his sublime example, founded on such a basis, with the tribe of infidel heroes, who have lately appeared on the bloody theatre of Europe, we cannot but apply the impressive language of a sober and intelligent heathen. "Earthquakes, lightning, storms and torrents have an amazing power: but as for Justice nothing participates of *that*, without thinking and reasoning upon GOD."

Sound science will ever be found promotive of rational religion and the solid interests of the Commonwealth: but there is a *leprosy of false knowledge*, which is akin to impiety, and saps the compacted fabric of social order. It is thus in the political system. The mild and lovely form of *true liberty*, is opposed by a harlot blustering counterfeit.

It is the pride of this Society, it is the glory and felicity of the Nation, to have at their head A MAN, to whom the knowledge and the practice of the *good* and the *true* are perfectly familiar: whom no false theories can delude, no deceptive inticements seduce, no demons of mischief dismay.

Under such auspices, you will walk safely and successfully: preferring the sober paths of practicable good to the brilliant allurements of seductive unsubstantial novelties: adhering to old and approved truths, while indulging in new inquiries: solicitous for improvement, but still retaining a just reverence for the approved maxims of ancient prudence. Let us hope that the casual abuses of science, or the eccentricities of some of its professors, will not impede its cultivation and encouragement. False philosophy is indeed the deceitful

Delilah which will enervate and corrupt the strongest establishments, and deliver them nerveless, and resistanceless, to the *Philistines of Infidelity*, the Lords of Anarchy and Misrule: but sound Science, with rational Religion, will be the firm supporters of the Magistracy to the latest time; as Aaron and Hur sustained the hand of Moses, *until the going down of the sun.*

A Funeral Eulogy

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered *February 22, 1800*, before the NEW-YORK STATE SOCIETY of the CINCINNATI.

BY WILLIAM LINN, D. D.

THIS solemn assembly and these sable ensigns proclaim no common grief. Already has every American wept; already have the sad funereal processions moved; and already have the virtues and the services of WASHINGTON been celebrated from the pulpit, and from the rostrum.

Why are we again assembled? And why is the tomb uncovered? It is that we may all take another look. This is the birth-day of the beloved man. Was there no other which could have been chosen than that on which we have so frequently rejoiced? It is kindly intended to give indulgence to our sorrow, to teach us that no character is exempt from the stroke of death, and especially to induce our submission to the will, and our adoration of that Almighty BEING who “gave and who hath taken away.”

We find from the earliest records of time, that the practice has been usual in all ages and in all nations, of honouring those who were distinguished by their excellence, and were esteemed public blessings. Trophies have been decreed to them while living, and at their decease, their bodies have been sometimes embalmed; monuments, elegies, and funeral orations have perpetuated the memory of their honourable deeds.

This has a happy tendency to insure a noble and virtuous conduct, and to excite the imitation of others. The love of fame, when subordinate to the general good of mankind, is inseparable from him who is truly

great; and he carries his views beyond the grave to the reward which posterity shall bestow. Were there then no other reason for praising the illustrious dead, this would be sufficient.

But there is an obligation of still higher moment. Eminent men are qualified for their work by God. They are his servants. In honouring them, we honour him. It is true that the heathen glorified not God, but substituted creatures in his room; and there is danger that even we, with the clearest revelation, may be guilty of idolatry in not lifting up our hearts to Him from whom "cometh down every good gift, and every perfect gift." Let us ascribe the glory to God, and we may safely extol the man whose loss this day we deplore.

America claims as her own, one who was justly the admiration of the world. And shall she be silent in his praise? Perhaps silence would have best expressed the merits of him who is beyond all eulogy. The language of mortals can with difficulty, if ever, reach so noble a theme. The name is above what Grecian or Roman story presents, and it would require more than Grecian or Roman eloquence to do it justice. One advantage indeed it possesses, that hardly any thing can be said which will be thought extravagant; and what would, in other cases be deemed flattery, will sink far below the conceptions of the public mind. Flattery was ever confounded in the presence of WASHINGTON, nor will it dare to approach his ashes. That humility, however, which was the constant ornament of his virtues, should not now obstruct the offerings of a feeling and grateful people at his shrine. Nay, they rush with greater eagerness to testify their sense of his transcendent and inestimable worth.

To the historian it belongs to relate in full, the birth, the education, the early, and the later achievements of GEORGE WASHINGTON. From the historic page we expect a minute description of his civil and military, of his public and private life. Though a simple

recital of these might be the highest encomium, and it might be said,

“ Rais’d of themselves, their genuine charms they boast,
And those who paint them truest, praise them most,”*

yet they would lead the speaker into too large a field ; he would not know what to select, and what to refuse, where all powerfully solicited his regard. Let history or biography, at present, serve only to develop and illustrate the character.

When God in his adorable providence intends to accomplish some glorious work upon earth, he provides and prepares his instruments among the children of men. Who does not see that Moses, by the manner in which he was preserved, the instruction which he received, and the habits of life to which he was inured, was fitted to lead the people of Israel ? Who, that Cyrus, had we not been expressly informed, was “ girded by the Lord ?” The intention is frequently hidden from the persons themselves, and may not be obvious to others ; though they will sometimes discern presages of future greatness. WASHINGTON was endowed from his youth with a military spirit. When a stripling, like David, he encountered the enemies of his country. His first destination was to enter as a midshipman in a British vessel of war. This was happily prevented, that so, instead of the Admiral, he might become the General. He gave such early and uncommon indications of heroism as occasioned public mention of him by an eminent divine, in a discourse delivered soon after Braddock’s defeat.† The subject was *religion* and *patriotism*. “ As a remarkable instance,” said he, “ I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country.” We will not call these words prophetic, but they have

* Addison’s Campaign.

† The Rev. Samuel Davies, then settled in Virginia, and afterwards President of the College of New-Jersey.

been repeatedly quoted as a testimony of the budding honours of the American hero.

GOD prepared his servant, and in due time opened to him a vast scene, on which all his talents had their utmost exertion, and expanded in full display. It having become necessary for America to oppose by force the unjust pretensions of Britain, he was elected a member of the great Council, and soon after unanimously appointed Commander in Chief of the armies. This honour his modesty forbade him to seek, and his love of country would not allow him to refuse. The choice was directed by Heaven. "I feel great distress," said he on his acceptance of the command, "from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause." Modesty ever accompanies great merit; and diffidence of abilities, when it casts not into despondency, excites vigilance, and rouses energies of soul concealed from the possessor himself.

General WASHINGTON had not seen much military service, and what he had seen was on a small scale. His army for a long time was undisciplined, and continually changing by temporary enlistments, or impatient militia; and sometimes he had scarcely the shadow of an army. He was destitute of the necessaries for their support, and of the instruments of war. He was called to create before he could command. In this situation he had to oppose the numerous and formidable legions of Britain, amply supplied with all the apparatus of death, and led on by the most renowned Generals. The hero of Monongahela, and the planter of Potowmac, nobly enters the list; snatches the laurels which had been gathered in Europe to adorn his own brow.

To estimate properly the merits of a General, we must attentively consider the circumstances in which

he is placed, and the means in his power. The American leader was never at the head of such armies as cover the fields of Europe. No; with a naked and distressed handful, he kept the enemy in terror; imposed on them by a parade of numbers and strength; now sought security in retreat; and now dared the fight; "swifter than an eagle and stronger than a lion." He who thus baffled the acknowledged skill and bravery of Britons, would, furnished with the means of war, march to the remotest ends of the earth.

We are willing to listen to the highest strains in favour of British valour, because these redound to the honour of our Chief. Every wreath which is woven, is transferred to him. Either our invaders would not, or they could not subdue us. If they would not, then they were unfaithful to their trust; if they could not, then the barrier was the American arms. Will any rather choose to compromise the matter, by resolving the independence of America into the decree of Heaven? Great God, we adore thy just decree! To thee was the appeal made! Thou didst fight for us! In transport we cry, "The sword of the LORD, and of Gideon."

Permit me to say, that he whose obsequies we perform, had advantages which few enjoy. The cause in which he engaged was of the most exalted kind, and he was deeply penetrated with its justice and importance. He undertook not from motives of ambition or gain, but from the pure love of country, to which he continually sacrificed his ease, his safety, and his life.

His attention to the duties of his station was incessant. In the field no opportunity escaped him to harass or attack the enemy; and he was never found unapprehensive of their designs, or unprepared to meet them. In winter quarters he revolved and digested the operations of the next campaign. He was not seen indulging in the amusements of a theatre, dissipating his time at a gaming table, or reclining on the lap of a

Delilah. His bed at camp was often hard. He often lay down in his daily drefs.* His horse stood equipped near him. Or, he sat in council. Or, he examined the vigilance of his posts. Or, he penned the dispatch. The concerns of America wholly occupied his mind. Americans, you may well love him, for he saved you much blood and treasure. He watched for your safety while you slept.

His patience and perseverance were unexampled. To be obliged to retreat is at all times humiliating to a General, and dangerous to his fame. To him solely is calamity imputed. Though in conducting a retreat, the greatest skill is often displayed, yet this, and the necessity are not generally known; and a people animated with the love of liberty are apt to be suspicious. Here was the great trial of WASHINGTON, and here a principal trait in his military character. He retreated from Long Island in the face of a far superior foe. He retreated from New-York Island in the face of total ruin. And he carried the small and dejected remains of his army; one while presenting a feeble front to the enemy, and another while retreating; until he crossed the Delaware. No hope was left but in the presence of WASHINGTON. It pleased God that he still lived; and he was, perhaps, the only man who did not despair. If he had tumultuous passions, if fame was dearer to him than his life, what a conflict was here! What a victory over himself! Whisperings and murmurings; imputations of unskilfulness, of cowardice, and, it may be, of unfaithfulness, were infinitely harder to bear, than to fight. These required a fortitude superior to what was necessary to meet death in any shape. To endure these showed real greatness. Saul, the first king of Israel, after his defeat at Mount Gilboa, slew himself with his own sword; but Saul

* The night after the battle of Monmouth, he "reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day."

Ramsay's History.

fell below WASHINGTON in every thing, except the towering size of his person.*

The American Chief, having collected a little strength, braving the wintry waves and skies, re-crosses the Delaware, and like an angry lion, chafed by the huntsmen, springs upon the foe, and those who flee not perish by his stroke. A far-famed hero marches at the head of numerous and veteran troops, but arriving near night, waits only the next dawn to revenge the havoc. Let us be thankful that the American army was at this time so weak; for had there been any thing like an equality to the enemy, or the most distant prospect of success, the morning sun had shone upon fields of carnage and blood. WASHINGTON directing fires to be kindled in the night, and to be kept constantly burning, led his army by a circuitous road; and his cannon at Princeton first awaked the drowsy Britons whom he had left. The frozen clod was stained on the march with blood from the naked feet of his men.† There was obtained another, though a dear-bought victory. There *Hazelet* and *Mercer* fell, two thunderbolts of war. *Mercer!* let me lift the mantle from thy mangled body!—Covered with wounds like Cesar in the senate-house!—Alas, not Cesar now, but Brutus fell!

We find in General WASHINGTON a mind capable of planning and executing great enterprises. "The world," says an historian, "has been mistaken in one opinion respecting his Excellency, whose natural temper possesses more of the Marcellus and less of the Fa-

* Saul "was higher than any of the people, from his shoulders and upward." WASHINGTON was full six feet and half an inch in stature. The historians and orators have generally mentioned his personal appearance. "His personal appearance is noble and engaging." *Gordon's History*. "His person was considerably above the middle size, but of a dignified and graceful form." *Strong's Discourse*. "His form was noble—His port majestic." *Morris's Oration*. "Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country, the wholesome toils of the chase, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual but graceful and well proportioned size." *Ramsay's History*.

† Dr. Ramsay in his history mentions the same circumstance as happening on another occasion. "The American army," says he, "might have been tracked, by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground, between Whitmarsh and Valley-Forge."

bious than has been generally imagined.* We are assured that he meditated designs which the resources of the country would not admit of being carried into effect; and whenever his force promised the least impression, we see him either boldly receiving the enemy, or advancing to attack them. Witness the battles of Brandywine, of Germantown and of Monmouth. In these places, as well as at Haerlem and Princeton, he exposed himself to the thickest dangers, and courted a glorious death. A swell of passions had nearly burst his manly breast. He saw victory, but had not the means to obtain it; he had victory, and it was suddenly snatched from his grasp.†

At length God interposed for his relief, and enabled him to contend upon equal terms. Assisted by a fleet and some brave legions from France, he plans the capture of York Town in Virginia, marches thither the allied army, and by one bold and decisive effort accomplishes the deliverance of his country. The British hero, who had marked him as an easy prey at Trenton, finds now his numbers, his skill and his bravery unavailing; he capitulates at the cannon's mouth, and lays all his trophies at the feet of WASHINGTON. How applicable to our hero are these lines!

"So when an angel, by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And pleas'd the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."‡

As General WASHINGTON, like Cincinnatus, left his retirement and the pursuits of agriculture merely

* Gordon.

† When the enemy landed upon New-York Island, the Americans fled before an inferior force. General WASHINGTON rode up and attempted, in vain, to rally them. This "raised a tempest in his usually tranquil mind. He hazarded his person for some considerable time in rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy. His aids and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. At Princeton, when the centre of the Americans, being briskly charged, gave way, he placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand and returned the British fire. The General, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either." *Ramsay's History*.

‡ Addison's Campaign.

for the service of his country, so when his work was finished, he returned with the most heart-felt satisfaction. He reckoned himself overpaid for all his labours and hardships. How sweet this abode of rest and peace after the toil and din of arms! How far superior his fame to that of Alexander or Cesar! They fought for the sake of conquest, and to enslave mankind; he, in defence of their just rights, and to make them happy. They, for personal aggrandizement; he, for the best good of others. Cesar usurped the supreme dominion of the State; WASHINGTON returned to the station of a private citizen. Hear his words at the resignation of his commission to Congress: "I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." So he wished and naturally thought; but he had not yet finished all the work which God had assigned him. In entering again upon public life, he is influenced by the same modesty and disinterested motives. He does not thrust himself forward to view, but submits to the claim, and obeys the loud call of his fellow-citizens. He declines, as formerly, any compensation for his services. In this way he evinces true patriotism, disarms envy, and enhances universal esteem.

When he retired from the command of the army, every one supposed that he had attained to the pinnacle of greatness, and would recline in safety the remainder of his days beneath a shade of laurels at Mount Vernon; but we behold him renouncing his retirement, and putting all his fame at risk. This was, perhaps, the most magnanimous action of his life, and eclipsed

even his military lustre. By first assisting in framing a government, the blessings of which we now enjoy, and then giving stability and energy to that government, by accepting the office of Chief Magistrate at two different times, he secured to his country all the consequences expected from the revolution. No man can conceive the magnanimity of this conduct, but he who approaches in some measure to the greatness of WASHINGTON.

During the time which elapsed between his first military exploits and the revolutionary war, he had been attentive to the science of government, and employed in affairs of state. The business therefore was not altogether new to him. He had besides the most excellent judgment, the most consummate prudence, and knew better than any man how to make the information and experience of others his own. He comprehended, he separated, he combined, he weighed, he decided, and his decision was ever wise and unshaken.

The question will be agitated by posterity, Whether he was the greater General or Statesman? Those who read his official letters, his addresses when he retired from the army, and from the presidency; and who are intimately acquainted with his administration, will be inclined to pronounce in favour of the latter. Those who have not duly considered these, and more narrowly survey his difficulties and success in war, will be inclined to pronounce in favour of the former. The controversy can be settled only by admitting that he was "first in war, and first in peace."

Under his administration the offices of government were filled by the first talents which could be found; or the best which the economy of the government could command; and, let it not be deemed too bold, by some of the greatest talents in the world. Under his administration, America was prosperous and happy. It was impossible that the expectations of all could be gratified, and the opinions of all followed. The season was peculiarly tempestuous, and the rocks

many and dangerous. The pilot was wise and firm, having always in view, as his pole-star, the public good. When we consider the information which is necessary to judge of public measures, the clashing of the interests of men, and the fatal influence of prejudice and passion on their minds, we are astonished at his unspotted fame.

How modest and beautiful are his words in that precious legacy which he left us at his resignation! "Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest." Who, on hearing these words, is not tempted to exclaim, WASHINGTON, live forever! His fame, indeed, is immortal. Posterity will see with rapture, sculptured on his tomb, wisdom, liberty, and justice.

Another time he retires with the benediction of millions. Eight years he wielded the sword, eight years he held the reins of government. The stormy sea was passed, and he resigns the helm to other hands. If desire always prompted, increasing age seemed to render it necessary that he should seek repose. Or, was it that he might enforce, by his example, the virtues and duties of a private life? That he might teach us industry, temperance, charity, and economy? To be affectionate husbands and tender masters? That on the faithful performance each one of his several relations, depends personal and public happiness? Whom do we see in yonder fields, near the waters of the Potomac, surrounded by a group of labourers? It is the

late illustrious Commander of the armies, and the late Chief Magistrate of the United States. How august the spectacle ! Citizens of America, venerate the sickle and the plough, for they have been dignified not only by the heroes and patriarchs of old, but by the father of your country !

Though naturally reserved, yet he was not haughty. Though those who approached him felt his superiority, yet he did not assume. He blended dignity and condescension. The greatest and the smallest objects received from him a due attention. He never betrayed any symptoms of vain glory. When he was once asked, whether he had ever said, as was reported, "that he knew no music so pleasing as the whistling of bullets," he answered, "If I said so, it was when I was young."* Learning to estimate justly all human glory, and matured by experience ; accustomed to lofty conceptions, and moving always in the important spheres of life ; impressed with a sense that he derived all from God, and that all should be devoted to his service ; his deportment was noble, equally removed from the supercilious and the vain. Some men have been great at one time, and despicable at another ; some men have performed a single great action, and never rose to the like again ; but to him great actions seemed common. Some men have appeared great at the head of armies, or when surrounded by the trappings of power, and little when stripped of these, and alone ; some men have withstood the storms of adversity, and been melted by the sunshine of prosperity ; some men have possessed splendid public talents, and disgraced these by sordid private vices ; but it is difficult to determine when and where WASHINGTON shone the brightest. It can only be said, that he was uniformly great.

One part of his character remains to be mentioned, and which crowns the whole ; that is his reverence for the Sabbath, his acknowledgment of a Providence,

* Gordon's History.

and his attendance upon the institutions of religion. In all his public documents, God is honoured; after deliverances or victories, thanksgivings were by his order offered; and it is well known that he invariably attended divine worship. The foolish and wicked cant of exalting human reason, and ascribing all to fortune, received from him no countenance. Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil administration; neither in a state of depression, nor amidst the intoxicating sweets of power and adulation; did he forget to pay homage to "the Most High, who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth." It is not wholly improbable that the fate of the unhappy Braddock, who, it is said, expressed himself in a boasting and profane manner, left on the mind of young WASHINGTON an indelible impression. "Thus saith the LORD, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the LORD which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness, in the earth."*

Hear the testimony which WASHINGTON bore for religion on his resignation of the Chief Magistracy: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity." Incomparable man! He devoted his time, his talents, and his labours to our service; and he hath left his advice, and his example to us, and to all generations!

* Jer. ix. 23, 24.

There was in him that assemblage of qualities which constitutes real greatness ; and these qualities were remarkably adapted to the conspicuous part which he was called to perform. He was not tinsel, but gold ; not a pebble, but a diamond ; not a meteor, but a sun. Were he compared with the sages and the heroes of antiquity, he would gain by the comparison ; or rather, he would be found to be free from the blemishes, and to unite the excellencies of them all. Like Fabius he was prudent ; like Hannibal he was unappalled by difficulties ; like Cyrus he conciliated affection ; like Cimon he was frugal ; like Scipio he was chaste ; like Philopemen he was humble ; and like Pompey he was successful. If we compare him with characters in the sacred records, he combined the exploits of Moses and Joshua, not only by conducting us safely across the Red Sea and through the wilderness, but by bringing us into the promised land ; like David he conquered an insulting Goliath, and rose to the highest honours from a humble station ; like Hezekiah he ruled ; and like Josiah at his death, there is a mourning “ as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.” Nor is the mourning confined to us, but extends to all the wise and the good who ever heard of his name. The Generals whom he opposed will wrap their hilts in black, and stern Cornwallis drop a tear.

He was honoured even in death. After all his fatigues, and though he had arrived near to the limit fixed for human life,* yet his understanding was not impaired, nor his frame wasted by any lingering disease. We did not hear of his sickness, until we heard that he was no more. His acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-General of the armies is a proof that “ Save my country, Heaven,” was his last. What would have been to most men the meridian of glory, was the setting sun of WASHINGTON. With an increased orb, its

* He was born Feb. 22, 1732 ; accepted the command of the American army, June 16, 1775, in the 44th year of his age ; and died Dec. 14, 1799, in the 68th year of his age.

parting rays paint the clouds with brightest colours, and illumine all the mountain tops. In the full possession of his reason, and without fear of death, which he had often faced in the field, he breathed his mighty soul into the hands of his almighty and merciful CREATOR.

Hark !—A message from the tomb !—

“ Citizens of America,

“ You are assembled to express your gratitude for services which you believe to have been rendered by me, and to testify your sorrow for my death. Next to the testimony of a good conscience, it was ever the summit of my wishes to deserve well of my country. But, let your gratitude ascend to Him who fashioned me as I was, who kept me under his holy protection, and who hath, in his sovereign will, recalled me from the earth. My career was much longer than might have been expected. It was anxious ; it was laborious ; it was wearisome—I now rest,

“ Let the love you bore me, the confidence you were pleased always to repose in me, and the regard you now profess for my memory, be shown in following those admonitions which I have given you, and which I endeavoured to enforce by my own example. Banish party interest and party spirit. Suffer no foreign influence to affect your councils. Give support and stability to your government. Honour and reward your public officers. Pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of religion and morality. Then, under the propitious smiles of Heaven, you will long be a flourishing and happy people.”

Thus, methinks, our deceased father addresses us this day.

In the eighteenth century have flourished a number of the most eminent philosophers, historians, orators, poets, patriots, and statesmen ; the close of it has been eventful and astonishing beyond all precedent. In the end of the fifteenth century, Columbus discovered this

new world ; in the end of the eighteenth, WASHINGTON arose to give Columbia independence and rank among the nations. To the lustre of so many names, and to a period of such wonderful events, he joins his blaze. Memorable era ! The age of great men, the age of extraordinary revolutions, the age of WASHINGTON.

He outlived many of his compatriots. *Warren* fell an early martyr. *Hardy Putnam*, brave *Stirling*, active *Sullivan*, patriotic *M' Dougall*, incorruptible *Reed*,* *Wayne*, chief of *Stony-Point*, *Thomas*, *Nash*, *Wooster*, *Spencer*, *Thompson*, *Cadwallader*, *Mifflin*, have all bowed to death. Undaunted *Smallwood* and *Morgan*, *Butler*, surprised by a savage foe, and brave in death ; *Steuben*, bred in European camps, skilled in military discipline, an adopted and favourite son, born alike to form the battle's dread array, and grace the festive board ; *De Kalb*, *Pulaski*, *Scammell*, *Armstrong*, *Parsons*, *Gist*, *Poor*, *Maxwell*, *Williams*, *Glover*, *Herkimer*, *Stark*, *Varnum*, *Woodford*——“How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished !”†——*Montgomery's* career was short, but glorious. On *Abram's Plains*

* This gentleman, when a large bribe was indirectly offered him, answered, “I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it.” *Ramsay's and Gordon's Histories.*

† This enumeration is not pretended to be complete ; and it was impossible to give every one his due praise. Only general officers are mentioned, of whom nine were slain in the field. Those who contributed to the revolution by their counsels are omitted ; of whom there is a long and venerable list. Praise to living characters is purposely avoided. Death will stamp their value, and posterity duly estimate their merits.

In this list, it would be needless to say to those who knew him, that *Armstrong* combined, in a high degree, the great and amiable qualities. His age and other circumstances prevented his taking a large and conspicuous part in the American war ; but he had the confidence of WASHINGTON ; and like him, gave proofs of a military spirit at an early period. He conducted the expedition against the *Kittaning*, an Indian town, and was highly honoured by the proprietors of *Pennsylvania* for his gallant behaviour. On this occasion he and *Mercer* were both wounded. He had a principal share either in advising or directing all the subsequent expeditions. He commanded the *Pennsylvania* militia at the battle of *Germantown* ; and it is a fact not generally known, that the fort on *Sullivan's* island, *S. C.* would have been evacuated as indefensible, had it not been for him and the brave *Col. Moultrie*. His chief glory, however, was that he “fought the good fight of faith,” and is gone with the famous *Col. Gardiner*, whom he greatly resembled, to receive an immortal crown.

he found with *Wolfe* a deathless fame. *Greene*, the great compeer and friend of WASHINGTON, survived the war, but lived not to enjoy its fruits under a well-balanced government. He too sought the shade, and cultivated the arts of peace, after obtaining a fame everlasting as the high hills of Santee, and pure as the Eutaw springs.

"In hours of peace content to be unknown,
And only in the field of battle shown:
To souls like these, in mutual friendship join'd,
Heav'n dares intrust the cause of human kind." *

Why should I mention others? Or why have I mentioned these? Our griefs are all absorbed in thee, O WASHINGTON!—There is not such another to die—Few such have ever existed in any age—The world lessened when he died——

"Death, ere thou hast kill'd another
Wife, and great, and good as he,
Time shall throw a dart at thee." †

Ye CINCINNATI, his companions in arms, and sharers in his glory, what scenes does this day bring to your remembrance! In imagination you suffer all the toils, and fight the battles over again. Before you moves the majestic and graceful man; graceful when he steps, more graceful when he mounts the prancing steed. Serene at all times, most serene in misfortunes and danger. The cares of America appear on his brow, and he wears her defence by his side. Ah! had he been captured by the enemy, your gleamy swords would have been drawn for his rescue. Or, had he been exposed in the front of battle, you would have shielded him with your own bodies; and had he fallen, a thousand victims had avenged his death. Against natural death you could interpose no shield! Seek not to restrain your tears, 'tis foldierlike now to weep—True courage and sensibility are intimately connected. Your General, your Father, and your Friend is—no more——The last time he and his band of broth-

* Addison's Campaign.

† An epitaph of Ben Johnson's altered.

ers were all together, you followed him with penfive countenances to the banks of the Hudfon, and on his entering the barge he turned towards you, and by waving his hat, bade you a filent adieu. He now bids you an adieu—forever. Imitate him in his love of country, in all his private and public virtues; and then like him, you will live beloved, and die lamented.

Come, ye fair daughters of America, weep for WASHINGTON. He faved your parents, friends, and lovers. Come, mingle your tears with the adored partner of his cares and joys at Mount Vernon.

Come all, and take a laft look. Many of you remember his triumphant entry into this city after the evacuation, and what pleafure then fwelled your bofoms. You remember his fecond entry, when he accepted the prefidency of the United States. You preffed to fee him. To the officer of the guard appointed to attend him on his landing he faid, “My guard is the affection of my fellow-citizens.” There, indeed, he reigned without control. There, indeed, he had a fecurity, and a testimony of his worth, more valuable and durable than the pomp and power of kings can afford. There he will live while there remains one of the prefent generation; and the faithful hiftorian will hand down his fame to the lateft ages. The name of WASHINGTON will be revered while the American empire endures: yea, until this globe itfelf be wrapt in the laft fires, and the angel fhall “fwear by Him that liveth forever and ever, that time fhall be no longer.”

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Delivered at *EXETER*, February 22, 1800.

BY JEREMIAH SMITH.

WE are assembled, my respected fellow-citizens, at the recommendation of the highest authority in our nation, publickly to testify our grief for the death of a beloved and illustrious citizen. Our country this day presents to the world a spectacle, as sublime as it is novel—A republic, inconsolable for the loss of a single citizen; five millions of people at the same moment employed in acts of devotion to Almighty God, and in the same unfeigned expressions of sorrow for this afflictive dispensation of his holy providence.

It is not indeed without example, that a nation should generally adopt the symbols of mourning for the death of a leader, a prince, or a benefactor: but where shall we look, except to this melancholy occasion, for grief so universal, as scarcely to admit of a single exception; so sincere, as to exclude all affectation of sorrow; and so poignant, that hearts the least susceptible of the tender emotions feel more, than it is in the power of language to express! Our young men have lost a father; the more aged, a brother; religion, her brightest ornament; our country, her shield, her defence, her glory in war, her guide, her great example in peace.

This anniversary, for many years devoted to gladness and rejoicing; a day, when every heart beat high with joy, and every countenance beamed with pleasure, is now, alas! a day of darkness and of sorrow. It hath pleased Him, who sitteth on the circle of the heavens,

to take to himself the delight of all eyes, the joy and the pride of every heart.

The proclamation, under which we are convened, has pointed out in general terms the duties of this solemn occasion. Let this day be sacredly devoted to sorrow; let us retire from the busy scenes of life, and for a few moments quit that world, from which in a few days we must part forever. Let us spend one day at the tomb of the illustrious WASHINGTON; and, while employed in the sad office of paying the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend, may it please the Father of all mercies to grant that his death, as well as the virtuous acts of his glorious life, may serve to make us both wiser and better. In this way, and in this way only, shall we suitably improve this affecting dispensation of Providence, and answer the benevolent views of those, who have summoned us together.

A suitable eulogy or discourse on the illustrious dead, while it attempts to give expression to the grief, which oppresses the heart of every hearer, by delineating a character worthy our highest admiration, will tend to excite in us the liveliest emotions of gratitude to Heaven, for a gift so precious, the keenest anguish for his loss at this eventful moment, and the most ardent desires to imitate his excellent virtues.

But who can paint the sorrows that actuate every bosom? For my own part, I must decline a task, to which I am wholly incompetent. My own feelings tell me, that I never can describe yours. Silence is the language of true and genuine grief, and tears are eloquent beyond the power of words. Attempt not to repress them, when it is manly to weep. They are a voluntary tribute of respect to the memory of him, who has been justly called first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. If aught below can reach him in the realms above; if aught on earth can convey pleasure to his immortal soul; it is

the tears of a grateful people, voluntarily shed over his grave.*

To delineate the character of our beloved WASHINGTON is no easy task. He, who is called to speak the praises of the dead, by the general license of mankind, is indulged with the privilege of concealing the faults, and of magnifying the virtues of the person, who is the subject of his praise. The poverty or badness of his materials has generally imposed on the eulogist of the most scrupulous regard for truth, the necessity of availing himself of this humane indulgence. Hence it has frequently happened, that the picture has greatly exceeded in beauty the original, and the hearer has gone away charmed with the character, who would have detested the man to whom it is applied.

The eulogist of WASHINGTON has no vices to conceal. Instead of indulging his fancy, by excursions into the regions of fiction in quest of materials for praise, he will find himself oppressed by matter so rich, as to preclude exaggeration, and so copious, as only to embarrass him in the selection. Of him it may be truly said, that the most faithful picture will exhibit the greatest beauty and the most striking resemblance.

Secure from the imputation of ascribing to the illustrious dead unmerited praises, how can I hope to escape the censure of every one of my hearers, for omitting, in the character I would delineate, some amiable trait, which won his affections, some favourite excellence, which commanded his admiration?

Amid all the difficulties incident to my situation, and feeling, as I do, an almost total want of ability to execute the part your kind partiality has assigned me, in the solemn exercises of the day, I have this consolation, that as on the one hand no exertion of talents, however great, could exalt a character, incapable of receiving any addition of praise; so on the other, the

* Cesar purchased his popularity while living, and the tears shed over his grave with largesses; that is, he robbed half mankind to gain the praises and the tears of the other half.

most imperfect sketch, and the most defective execution of my design, can in no wise lessen the public estimation of his merits. Thanks be to God, his character is consummated, his glory is deposited where neither misfortune nor malevolence can tarnish nor destroy it.

To constitute a great and perfect character, there must be an assemblage of the great and shining qualities, which dazzle by their splendour the popular eye, blended in exact proportion with the softer and more gentle virtues, beneficence, humanity, moderation, piety and charity. These latter, though calculated to steal the heart and win the affections, as they lie more in the shade, are less known and less regarded. It is rare indeed to find the splendid, the amiable, and the useful united in the same person. Our WASHINGTON furnishes an exception to the general rule; and it will forever remain a question, whether he was most distinguished above all other men by the greatness of his talents, or the goodness of his heart; whether his noble, his useful, or his amiable virtues predominated; and which of these have been most glorious to himself, or most serviceable to his country. If by the first he has acquired the title of our political saviour, by the latter, like Marcus Aurelius, he has merited to be styled, by the more endearing epithet, the father of his country.

It belongs to the historian of our nation to write the life of him, who was the chief instrument employed by Heaven in achieving our independence. His name and that of our country are inseparable.

A faithful narrative of what he did and what he suffered, during the period of a long, a bloody, and a dubious conflict, which terminated so gloriously, will furnish the highest eulogium on his wisdom, his virtue, and his talents.

To enter upon a field so extensive, neither suits my slender abilities, nor comports with the proper duties of the day. Let us be contented with a more contracted view of the illustrious subject of our grief in the

various characters of a foldier, a ftatelman, a private citizen, a man and a chriftian.

When in the courfe of human events the time had arrived, that the political bands, which connected us with another nation, were to be diffolved ; when our venerable fathers decreed to affume an equal ftation among the powers of the earth, it became neceffary that they fhould defend with the fword thofe rights, they claimed for themfelves and their pofterity.

Among the bold and intrepid afferters of our liberties, which that ever memorable period of our hiftory produced, the illuftrious WASHINGTON was found. That truly dignified and manly fpirit of freedom, which has fince difplayed itfelf in all his actions, then glowed in his breaft.

In the early period of his life he had diftinguifhed himfelf as a foldier, and had given an earneft of thofe military talents, which have fince burft upon the world with fo much fplendour. But at that period his fame was neither fo brilliant, nor fo extenfive, as to mark him out to the public as the fitteft among the thoufands of his valiant countrymen, to exercife a command fo new, fo difficult, and fo hazardous. I mention this, not with any defign to depreciate his early fame, but to lead us to afcribe his unanimous election to the fupreme command of our armies, to the invifible agency of that Almighty Being, to whom we are alike indebted for our exiftence as an independent nation, and for the means by which it was accomplished.

It muft give us pleafure, and I am fure it will afford us inftruction, to recur to this memorable period of our annals and of his glory.

Who is not ftruck with admiration at the modelt diffidence, with which he accepted the command of our armies ? The truly great are truly humble. His able difcharge of the important truft no lefs clearly proves the former, than the whole tenor of his life evinces the latter.

I have said, that this first distinguished testimony of public approbation, as it respected him, was both hazardous and difficult. His life, his fortune, and, what was dearer than both, his untarnished honour, were staked on the event.

Even at this short distance of time, it is not easy justly to appreciate the difficulties he had to encounter. Our country presented to the world the novel spectacle of thirteen independent Colonies, different in their habits, manners, and in their interests; connected only by a sense of common danger; without alliances, without funds, without a government; opposed in arms by a nation as brave as she was powerful; a nation, flushed with conquest, and obstinately determined on our subjugation. To engage in a contest so arduous, and to every human eye so unequal, required the zeal of a martyr; to conduct it, wisdom and firmness apparently more than human; to bring it to a happy and successful conclusion, we are constrained to acknowledge, that it required the powerful agency of Providence, co-operating with the sublimest exertions of human virtue.

Who has forgotten the gloomy aspect of our affairs at an early period of the war, when our army was successively driven from all their strong holds by our triumphant and exulting foe? At this period, to adopt the language of our excellent President, we behold our magnanimous Chief in adversity; in the deepest distress, and most trying perplexities. The gods witness with pleasure a brave man struggling with the storms of fate. To us, short-sighted mortals, it would seem that they sometimes delight in raising the tempest, and thickening the cloud, that their favourites may emerge to more resplendent glory.

The joy, universally diffused by the brilliant successes at Trenton and Princeton, at the close of this memorable year, was no doubt heightened by the gloomy contrast, which the preceding summer afforded. From this day our prospects brightened, but they were not

always bright. Our beloved Chief passed through a thousand scenes of distress and danger, with a spirit unbroken by adversity—a spirit, which not only enabled him to sustain the weight of cares which devolved on him, but served to revive and animate his fainting troops. At the outset in his military career, he had to contend with difficulties of an unusual nature. All his soldiers, and with few exceptions, his subordinate officers, were wholly undisciplined. They were brave, and each possessed a portion of the same ardour for liberty, which animated their illustrious leader: but they were impatient of control, because unaccustomed to the restraints of military life. But he was born to surmount difficulties never surmounted before.

His personal merit, and the confidence inspired by his virtues, enabled him to conquer his own troops, that with them he might conquer the enemy. His own conduct gave a sanction to the rules he prescribed for others. He practised himself the difficult lessons he taught, and every soldier dreaded a Chief, who had learned to obey, and therefore was worthy to command.

It cannot, therefore, excite our wonder so much as our admiration of his virtues, that our citizens were so soon converted into soldiers, when to acquire the approbation and esteem of their beloved General was the motive, and the possession of that esteem the never-failing reward, of military merit, though found in the lowest grade.

The brilliant victories and successes, which attended the American arms, from the period of which we have been speaking, to the final triumph at York Town, must be ascribed, under Heaven, to the able designs of our illustrious Chief, formed in a masterly manner, and executed with a proportionate degree of skill and prudence, no less than to the bravery and spirit of his troops.

I must not omit to mention, while considering the military character of the illustrious dead, his uniform attention, in all disasters and changes, to the rights of the civil

power ; his invariable respect to the persons and property of the citizens ; and, what must have afforded him, at the close of life, more solid joy than battles won and enemies vanquished, his clemency to the guilty, and his mild and temperate justice to all. If other Generals can boast, that they have slain their thousands, WASHINGTON may truly add, I have preserved my ten thousands. In a word, his enemies, if he had any, could not hesitate to allow him the talents of the most consummate General ; and his country never can forget, that he conducted the great military contest with wisdom, fortitude, and success ; and enabled his fellow-citizens to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity.

After a pursuit of seven long years, the object of our most just and arduous struggle, by the blessing of Heaven, was accomplished, and our enemies compelled to abandon their schemes and acknowledge our independence.

Let all due praises be given to the valiant soldiers, who fought our battles ; to the brave and intrepid officers, who led them on to victory and glory. Let the names of the gallant *Warren*, *Mercer*, and *Montgomery* be had in everlasting remembrance : let us never forget the debt of gratitude we owe a *Greene*, a *Sullivan*, a *Scammel*, and a long list of heroes, whose names and achievements will be found to occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of our revolution. Sufficient praise still remains for him, whose mighty soul planned, directed, and animated the whole.

When our independence was established, our beloved Chief, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, retired to the peaceful shade of private life, covered with glory, and attended with the blessings of his grateful countrymen.

It has often been remarked, that nature, as if parsimonious of her choicest gifts, has rarely bestowed on her favourite children, talents to excel, in the various and multiplied pursuits of human life.

The race of heroes has generally proved as destructive in peace, as they have been terrible in war, while the ablest statesmen have been found, on experiment, incapable of acquiring any degree of military fame. It was this sentiment, founded as it would seem in nature, and justified by experience, which led the fond admirers of WASHINGTON to fear, that he might lose at the helm of state some portion of that glory, which he had won at the head of our armies. To have expressed a belief, at this interesting period of his life, that his glory was capable of any addition, would have been condemned as implying deficiency in a character deemed complete. To have indulged even the hope of an increase of honours would have been viewed in no other light, than as one of those flattering delusions, which our wishes sometimes contrive to impose on our judgment. Thanks be to Heaven, that to our time and to our country has been reserved the singular felicity, of presenting to the world a character, as conspicuously unrivalled for the virtues of civil administration, as it had been rendered illustrious for military achievements.

The merit of his services, during the eight years he presided in our public councils, can only be appreciated by a view of the magnitude and difficulty of the trust he was called to execute, and the course of conduct he pursued during his civil administration.

Entering upon a frame of government, excellent indeed in theory, but which had not as yet received the sanction of experience, it required no small share of political ability, to lay the foundations of our civil institutions in such a manner, as best to secure domestic tranquillity, establish justice, promote the general welfare, and thus, in the way of gradual progression, to raise our country to that rank and importance among the nations, to which we seem destined by the God of nature.

Without derogating from the praises due to the able and enlightened statesmen, who filled the subordinate departments of government, we can never forget how

much we owe to his prudence, judgment, and unre-mitted labours, that, while other nations are involved in a bloody and destructive war, our happy country has enjoyed so much internal tranquillity ; that she has had time to mature her recent institutions ; and to acquire that portion of strength, which, with the blessing of Heaven, will enable her to support her independence, and maintain her just rights against all her enemies.

In the management of our external concerns as a nation, the wisdom of our great Chief Magistrate was eminently displayed. Connected as we are with the old world, it was justly to be apprehended, that the war in Europe would endanger our peace. There is nothing in the character of our beloved WASHINGTON more strongly marked, than his detestation of war, and his love of peace. War he considered as the disgrace and calamity of human nature. As a man and as a patriot he loved peace ; but it was that peace, which is consistent with the public good, the public engagements, and the public honour. This peace he cultivated with the most ardent zeal. He invited the friendship of all nations, and sought to preserve it, by performing all our engagements to them with the most pure and absolute faith. That a policy so magnanimous, and so honourable for our country, has not been productive of all the good, that was rationally to have been expected from it ; that it has not entirely exempted us from the calamity of actual war, is not to be ascribed to any defect of wisdom in him who adopted it ; but to the unparalleled corruption, baseness, and profligacy of those men, whom a just God, to scourge a sinful world, (and our imagination can scarcely conceive of a more dreadful plague) has permitted to usurp dominion over the fairest and most civilized portion of the globe.

Let us carry our imaginations back to that period of our history, when every artifice was practised to draw our government from the neutral position she had taken.

Our magnanimous Chief was neither to be diverted by flattery, nor deterred by menaces, from the pacific system he had adopted : a system so congenial to his feelings and our interests. Despairing at length of being able to intimidate or corrupt the government, it only remained to corrupt the people. In all governments, and especially in those of the popular kind, there are men to be found, ready to sacrifice on the altar of private ambition the dearest interests of their country.*

In this age of revolution, language itself has been revolutionized, and wicked and unprincipled men, professing a more enlarged patriotism, have laboured to subvert our excellent Constitution, and to undermine the pillars, which support our independence as a nation. For this purpose, every act of our public functionaries has been misrepresented ; suspicions and jealousies disseminated, and the grossest calumnies industriously circulated. In this way it was easily seen, that the power of our government, which has for its basis the confidence of the people in those who administer it, would soon be destroyed ; and we, like Geneva, Holland, and Switzerland, become the humble satellite of a foreign nation. The spirit of opposition to our government now assumed a formidable shape and size. The vicious, the turbulent, and the disorderly are naturally hostile to the best and mildest government. The ignorant were deluded ; the timid and wavering had already enlisted under the banners of rebellion ; our enemies saw the success of their schemes just about to be realized ; the eyes of the real lovers of our country were turned on WASHINGTON. He stood collected in himself, like a rock in a tempestuous sea, unmoved by the storms of popular fury, that beat upon him. His judgment discerned the path of duty, and he pursued it. His enemies (for the enemies of his country were his) were confounded by his firm and manly con-

* A faction will at any time give up their country to a foreign power, rather than to the dominion of an opposite faction.

duct. The deluded were enlightened by his wisdom, and with the steady friends of order and of peace again rallied round the standard of the laws, and we were saved.

During the whole period of his administration, our beloved Chief Magistrate maintained the same uniform character for moderation, wisdom, and firmness. His active genius was equally suited to the most enlarged views, and the minutest details of civil policy. By a solicitous examination of objections, and a judicious comparison of opposite arguments, he attained a firm and unshaken conviction on the many and various questions submitted to his decision: but his firmness was without asperity, and though inflexible, he was candid. He was a practical politician, and always considered experience, which is every day showing the fallacy of the most plausible theories, as the surest standard, and the best test of political truth.

Having spent forty-five years of his life in the service of his country, he retired a second time from the great theatre of action, and thus completed the lustre of a character, before unrivalled by the coincidence of virtue, talents, success, and public estimation; and afforded an example of moderation and magnanimity, no less rare than instructive to mankind.

Let us now follow our illustrious friend into the shade of private life. Of the generality of princes it has been remarked, that if stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, they would sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from obscurity. It is perhaps no less true, that those men, who have been distinguished, and justly distinguished, in the field and in the cabinet, are often found extremely deficient in those talents and acquirements, which are useful and ornamental in private life. And how often has it happened, that splendid talents, though accompanied with great virtues, have been disgraced by private vices. The character of WASHINGTON was uniform throughout. His merits were in a great

measure independent of his rank and fortune. His private virtues added lustre and dignity to his public character. If his destiny had neither led him to the field, nor to the cabinet, he would have maintained the same superiority in private, as he did in public life.

He inherited from nature a strong and vigorous mind, which was cultivated by study, and more by meditation and reflection. His memory was remarkably retentive, and his judgment keen and penetrating.

As a proof of his title to no small share of literary fame, we need only refer to his writings, official and private, which are now before the public: they will be read with pleasure, as long as the language in which they are written shall remain, as compositions, no less distinguished for correctness, dignity, and elevation of thought, than for beauty, harmony, and elegance of expression.

Of his virtues it may be said, that they were the fruits of much cultivation bestowed on a good soil.*

He very early acquired the power of submitting his passions to his reason. He practised without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. He was eminently distinguished for prudence, moderation, and equanimity of soul. He deserved the singular commendation, that instead of being corrupted by success, his virtues always expanded with his fortune: the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation.

Perhaps no man ever shared more largely in the public esteem, or received more flattering marks of distinction; but was there ever one, who deserved them better, or appreciated them more justly? His popularity was earned by virtuous deeds, and it was spent in the service of virtue.

In dispatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable. He was remarkable for observing the most perfect order, without too rigid adherence to method, in all

* This was remarked of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, between whom and WASHINGTON there was a striking resemblance.

his concerns, public and private. This nice arrangement of labour, and exact distribution of time, enabled him to transact an uncommon portion of business, and still left him leisure to enjoy the innocent pleasures of life. With him, every hour had its duty, and every duty its hour. How delightful, that he could say at the close of his life, *I have left nothing undone.*

His easy fortune, increased by his industry and active labours, afforded him the means, which he never failed to improve, of displaying his beneficence and generosity to those, who had any claims on his bounty, or who came within the enlarged circle of his acquaintance.

To act altogether from pure benevolence, or regard to the good of others, seems hardly compatible with human nature. The tenor of his whole life evinced, that neither vanity nor interest impelled him to action. Vanity it could not be; for who so modest and unassuming? It could not be interest; for though he declined no labour, he refused all pecuniary compensation. If ambition fired his soul, it was a glorious ambition, for it saved his country.

The person as well as the mind of our departed Chief was enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance dignified, his deportment graceful, and his manners liberal, courteous and refined.

The most singular trait in the character and fortunes of this great man remains to be mentioned; he was neither capable of envy himself, nor the object of that passion in others. Can there be higher evidence of his superior excellence? His character was considered as a sort of public property; every member of the community had an interest in preserving it inviolate.

Popular applause, of all the gifts in the power of fortune to bestow, the most fickle and precarious, to him was constant, steady, and uniform as his virtues.

Of his patriotism I need not speak. All virtues have their extremes. There is a patriotism too narrow; and

the philosophy of the present day teaches one much too broad ; it embraces all nations. There is also a love of liberty, which is disorderly and tumultuous. It is sufficient to say, that the patriotism of our WASHINGTON was an ardent love of his own country ; and the liberty he adored was that of which government is the guardian.

I have reserved for the last to speak of the religious character of the deceased ; because, like the key-stone, which completes the arch, it is this which completes the lustre of his unrivalled name.

We have seen that his private life was marked, in an eminent degree, with the practice of the moral virtues. The maxims he prescribed for himself, as the basis of his political conduct, will bear the strictest scrutiny, when brought to the test of reason and morality.

He taught (and his own practice corresponded with his doctrine) that the foundation of national policy can be laid only in the pure and immutable principles of private morality : that there exists in the economy of nature an indissoluble union between duty and advantage, between genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity : that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation, that disregards the eternal laws of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained.

In our country, there are few, who will hesitate to acknowledge the obligations we are under, to make the concerns of another world the governing principle of our lives in this ; and that Christianity is the highest ornament of human nature. WASHINGTON practised upon this belief. He publicly professed the religion in which he was educated ; and his life affords the best evidence of the purity of his principles, and the sincerity of his faith.

He had all the genuine mildness of Christianity with all its force. He was neither ostentatious, nor ashamed of his Christian profession. He pursued in this, as in

every thing else, the happy mean between the extremes of levity and gloominess, indifference and austerity. His religion became him. He brought it with him into office, and he did not lose it there. His first and his last official acts (as did all the intermediate ones) contained an explicit acknowledgment of the overruling providence of the Supreme Being; and the most fervent supplication for his benediction on our government and nation.

Without being charged with exaggeration, I may be permitted to say, that an accurate knowledge of his life, while it would confer on him the highest title to praise, would be productive of the most solid advantage to the cause of Christianity.

I have omitted to speak of the magnanimity of WASHINGTON, in accepting the command of our armies in a subordinate station, when in his judgment the public good again required the sacrifice of his private feelings; because I cannot find words sufficiently expressive of the admiration, with which his favoured country could not but view this last transcendent proof of his ardent love and inviolable regard.

There is, by the irrevocable decree of Heaven, a period fixed to human greatness and human glory. The time had now arrived, that WASHINGTON must die. He could not in the day of death disgrace a character, supported by virtue and fortitude. He, who had lived without guilt, must die without remorse. But I reckon it a public blessing, and deserving our thanks to Almighty God, that he was called to this last encounter, in the full possession and vigour of his mental powers. Highly favoured of Heaven, to him it was given, to meet the last enemy of man with the same firmness, the same fortitude, and the same reliance on heavenly aid, with which, during his life, he met the foes of his country. And who can doubt of his success in this last engagement? At this awful moment he had the singular felicity, resulting from a review of his well-spent life, that not a word had escaped his tongue, which a

wise man might not utter ; not a sentence dropped from his pen, which, dying he could wish to blot ; not an action performed, which prudence could condemn, nor one omitted, which duty had enjoined.

No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of these States, for raising up this able leader, who in war and in peace merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence of the army and the citizens ; and while the lives of other illustrious men have been glorious for themselves, that it pleased Heaven to make his glorious for his country. While our hearts are torn with anguish at the afflictive dispensation of a holy Providence, which is the subject of this day's sad solemnities, let us never forget, that his valuable life was preserved, till a citizen was found worthy to succeed him. And what higher praise can be given to the enlightened patriot, who fills the chair of state ? Like WASHINGTON he was eminently instrumental in achieving our revolution. Devoted like WASHINGTON to the service of that country, which his wisdom has rendered illustrious, like him may he be honoured while living, and lamented in death by his grateful and affectionate countrymen.

If the happiness of an unembodied spirit at all consists in the possession of felicitating ideas of the past, as doubtless it does, how great must be the happiness of him, whose death we this day mourn ? As the saviour of his country, great must be his crown of rejoicing. On earth he sought no rewards, no statues, no triumphs. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues, which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. But on earth he was not without his reward. His was the reward of success attending all his patriotic labours ; his the honest pride of virtue, and above all, the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness, of which he was so eminently the author. In this assembly there cannot be found one

cold admirer of his virtues. If our country can furnish one such, is it too much to say, that he is no less cold to the dearest interests of humanity, virtue and religion? But the tokens of affection for his pure character, the proofs of gratitude for his services, and of reverence for his wisdom and pre-eminent virtues, exhibited by every description of persons on this melancholy occasion, will forever shew how greatly he was beloved, esteemed and honoured by his country; and will serve to rescue our nation from the reproach of ingratitude, which has been cast on republics. He is now exalted above all earthly praise; we shall see his face no more. But the glory of his virtue will reach beyond the grave. When our rising empire shall have risen and sunk again into ruin, it will live and continue to animate remotest ages.

To us it only remains, that we improve this afflicting dispensation of Divine Providence in a suitable manner; and this can only be done by a strict observance of his admonitions, and the imitation of his excellent example.

Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise; but the counsels of our departed friend come recommended by additional claims to our regard. His last address to his countrymen is the result of much wisdom, collected from experience; it was dictated by the heart, and may be viewed as the dying words of a father to his children. Cultivate union and brotherly affection (it is thus he speaks to us) that the sacred fire of liberty may be preserved, and the pre-eminence of the republican model of government exemplified, as that which secures to the people the greatest portion of liberty, prosperity and happiness. On this union, be assured, depends your peace abroad, your safety at home.

Moderate the fury of party spirit. It is this which disturbs your public councils, and enfeebles your administration. Banish local prejudices as well as party

views. Cherish public credit, and for that end contribute to the public revenues, and cheerfully bear the public burthens.

Observe good faith and justice to all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Present to the world the example, as magnanimous as it is rare, of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

Dismiss your inveterate hatred for some nations, and your passionate attachment for others. These passions are alike destructive to your peace and independence. It would be credulity to expect, and degrading to accept, favours from any nation.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence maintain a watchful and constant jealousy. It is the deadly foe of republican governments. Guard no less strenuously against the impostures of pretended patriots at home, than against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue. It is easy for the worst men to adopt the language of the virtuous, and for your greatest enemies to assume the appearance of the most disinterested zeal for your interests, and the most ardent attachment for your persons; while at the same time they are but the tools of foreign intrigue, and seeking their own personal aggrandizement at your expense. The means they employ to accomplish their ends will serve to point out to you the persons of this description. These means are no other, than the dissemination of suspicions, jealousies, and calumnies against the best and most virtuous of your citizens; and that because they possess, what they so justly deserve, your favour and confidence.

But, above all, cherish and promote the interests of knowledge, virtue and religion. They are indispensable to the support of any free government, and in a peculiar manner to those of the popular kind. Let it never be forgotten, that there can be no genuine freedom, where there is no morality, and no sound morality, where there is no religion. Morality without religion will soon lose its obligation, and religion without morality

will degenerate into superstition, which will corrupt instead of ameliorating the mass, into which it is infused. Let no man have your confidence, who is destitute of either. Hesitate not a moment to believe, that the man who labours to destroy these two great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens, whatever may be his professions of patriotism, is neither a good patriot nor a good man.

If these solemn and momentous truths stood in any need of illustration, let him that doubts be pleased to recollect, that the experiment is making, I may say already made, of governing a nation without the aid of religion and without morality. Those, who are pleased with the result of that experiment, are not to be convinced. To all others a volume could not so ably prove the indispensable necessity of religion and morality, to the prosperity and happiness of a nation.

May it please the Supreme Ruler of the universe and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, to make our happy country as distinguished for the practice of piety and morality, as for the love of liberty and social order; to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our union and independence; to enable us to triumph over external sedition, and to put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations, that this government, instituted under the auspices of Heaven, shall long continue the asylum of the oppressed, and a safeguard to human rights.

An Oration

ON THE DEATH OF
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Delivered at *ALL SAINT'S PARISH*, (S. C.) on the 22d of
February, 1800.

BY DOCTOR JOSEPH BLYTH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

SIXTY-EIGHT years are this day completed since the birth of GEORGE WASHINGTON, and this day we are assembled in the temple of God to pay the tribute of affection and respect due to the memory of the excellent citizen, the friend, the father of his country.

Behold! this day, and at this moment, thousands and thousands, in their numerous assemblies over this extended empire, are commemorating the exalted virtues, the heroic deeds of our deceased patriot; and pouring out their souls to the ALMIGHTY, in the keenness of sorrow, for this irreparable loss, this national calamity, this visitation of the Most High.

America, covered with the mantle of grief, droops over the grave of her departed father, and the funeral pall of Columbia's pride, like a dark and ominous cloud, overspreads our land.

Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets. O! fleeting, transitory man, learn moderation and wisdom from a sense of thy fugitive state! Now, indeed, is a time to weep: to restrain the bursting emotion would be false fortitude. Let the heart seek its relief in free effusions of just and natural sorrow. WASHINGTON was our companion in all the vicissitudes of fortune; he was the solace of his coun-

try; he shared in all her joys, and he participated in all her misfortunes.

By the appointment of the CREATOR of mankind, the conclusion of life is an awful object; to restrain that awe within due bounds, that it do not interrupt us in performing the duties of life properly, is the distinction between the brave man and the coward. To surmount that awe, so that even the near approach of death shall not deject our mind or trouble our peace, is the preference which virtue enjoys above guilt. A professed object of philosophy and religion, in every age, has been to enable their votaries to conquer all slavish fear of death.

Although our WASHINGTON was attached to life by an ample store of earthly felicity, and by all the natural feelings of humanity, yet he was raised above all weak and unmanly regret at parting with it. When Providence gave the signal for his removal, with composed resolution and an undisturbed mind, he bade adieu to the world; what Heaven had made necessary, WASHINGTON complied with cheerfully. Although he was interrupted in the midst of his settled designs; although he was broken off in the midst of the wise plans he had formed of being useful to his country; all these he left with resignation and tranquillity in the hands of the Father of mercies, to whom he had ever been accustomed to look up—that divine goodness which had watched over him in all the perils of life; that all-wise Being, who had governed the world graciously and wisely before he existed, and who he knew would continue to govern it with equal benignity and wisdom, when he should be in it no more.

The time of his departure was not of our choice, nor his own; but it was the time appointed by Him who cannot err. Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time; but wisdom is grey hairs to a man, and an unspotted life is old age. He who is unwilling to submit to death, when Heaven decrees it, deserves not to have lived. When our WASHING-

TON beheld his friends and relatives around him, his heart melted, but was not overpowered; the retrospection of a virtuous life, the testimony of a good conscience, and a hope of future felicity, gave him composure and fortitude; and in the midst of these agonies, when the dust is about to return to its dust, with firmness and dignity he resigned the spirit to GOD who gave it. He had served his country with fidelity; he had walked piously before his GOD; he had completed his career of glory and virtue; he departed with the blessings of the whole American people, and the tears of grateful millions have embalmed his memory.

How respectable and happy is such a conclusion of human life! thus to quit the stage, honoured and revered by his country, supported by the presence of his CREATOR, and enjoying, until the last moments of reflection, the pleasing thoughts that he had not lived in vain.

May each of us so act our part through the journey of life, that when we come to meet the king of terrors, we may be buoyed up with such reflections; and in that journey, may we all as far as possible follow the example of our deceased friend.

Our beloved WASHINGTON, in the third descent from English ancestors, was born in the county of Westmoreland, in Virginia, on the 11th of February, 1732, old style. He was the first fruits of a second marriage; and when but ten years of age, had the misfortune to lose his father: his mother survived until a few years ago. What maternal satisfaction must the aged matron have enjoyed, from the consideration of having given birth to the man of such consummate worth, of such unspotted fame! His education was principally conducted by a private tutor; he soon, however, seized the great objects of erudition—skill in the sciences, and a strict adherence to the moral duties, without submitting to that tedious drudgery necessary for less active genius. By means of a vigorous, penetrating mind, with the study of good models, he soon

acquired an elegant, pure, nervous style. By surveying lands, the occasional occupation of his early life, he gave vigour and activity to his body, and acquired and cultivated that kind of mathematical knowledge, which proved very useful to him afterwards in far higher stations. At fifteen years of age, he was entered a midshipman on board a British ship of war, then stationed on the coasts of Virginia; but his mother's reluctance to that profession prevented him from ever going to sea. Before he attained his twentieth year, he had an appointment with the rank of Major, in the department of Adjutant-General, which office had been held for some time before by his eldest brother. This brother was a young man of the most promising talents; he had commanded in the colonial troops employed against Carthagenia, and afterwards held the office of Adjutant-General of Virginia. From this brother, and in this office, the future hero of America received the first rudiments of that military knowledge, which has since astonished the world; from this brother (who died about this time) he inherited Mount Vernon, (so called after the Admiral of that name) the seat of our deceased friend's fondest predilection. In the office of Adjutant-General, and in the embassy in which he was shortly after employed; the journal and reports of Major WASHINGTON announced to the world that prodigious genius, that correctness of mind, that manliness of style, and that accuracy in business, which have since characterized him in conducting more arduous affairs. Let the brave youths of Columbia, who anticipate the enjoyment of many years in their natal soil, imitate the early example of WASHINGTON. When he was but twenty-one years of age, he devoted his labour, his life to the service of his country. She was insulted by a foreign foe, "all fate mute, pondering on the danger with deep thought, and in other's countenance read his own dismay." WASHINGTON nobly stepped forth and offered her his best services. For hundreds of miles he explored the pathless desert,

the habitation of savage beasts, and of more savage men! His task accomplished, although unsuccessful in his toils, he returned safe amidst the applause of his grateful countrymen.

In the war which succeeded, his prudence saved his country's armies; his valour checked her foes. In a situation which required the coolness and deliberation of an experienced veteran; when unrelenting carnage drenched the field of battle; when victorious savages, with appalling yells, gave loose to their vindictive rage, the active exertions of the youthful WASHINGTON rallied and brought off in safety the scattered and flying remains of the ill-fated Braddock's army. The volunteer aid, the brave Colonel WASHINGTON, was the only officer doing duty on horseback that day, who was not either killed or wounded. In succeeding expeditions, the war was more successful, and our young hero exhibited the talents of a General in many embarrassing scenes. When tranquillity was restored, our young citizen soldier, crowned with laurels, returned to his native home. With these early presages of future greatness, can the spirit of prophecy be ascribed to President Davies, when he hazarded an opinion, in a public sermon, that "Divine Providence was raising this youth for the salvation of his country?"

In the year 1759, when he resigned his command, authentic documents will shew the tender regret of the Virginia line at parting with their Commander, and his affectionate regard for them.

Our hero settled soon after as a farmer in the peaceful shades of Mount Vernon; he married the amiable object of his affection, a lady of his own age; and there, under his own vine and his own fig-tree, his hands fraught with the bounties of Heaven, the fruits of his own industry, he cultivated the arts of peace: constantly and faithfully discharging the duties of a magistrate, a judge of the county court, and a member of the legislature, until the year 1774, when he was elected a delegate to the first Congress.

The Omnipotent, "who bids predestined empires rise and fall," generally employs the agency of secondary causes for the execution of his decrees. In the year 1774, the British rulers completed their system of tyrannizing over the Colonies: from the year 1764, the usurpations of that government had excited the indignation of every American. Our chartered and most sacred rights and privileges were annulled and altered at their will; we were held amenable to laws made, and for payment of taxes imposed, without our consent. The administration of justice was obstructed, and her fountains polluted: her pure ermine was sullied by the unrighteous decrees and immoral conduct of unworthy individuals, clothed in her solemn garb. We were held to trial at foreign tribunals for pretended offences, and the trial by jury of our peers was denied us: we were harassed by swarms of civil officers, and oppressed by standing armies in times of peace, and the military independent of and superior to the civil powers. The hard earnings of honest industry were wrung from us, by impositions and taxes, established upon principles incompatible with the unalienable rights of freemen. Severities, extortions and claims were imposed upon us, to which none but slaves could submit. In every stage of these oppressions, we petitioned for redress in most humble terms: our repeated petitions were answered only by repeated injuries and insults. The indignant spirit of the Americans was at length roused to a noble opposition; every other means proving vain, they were at length urged on to the distressing alternative of choosing one of two great evils;* either to enlist themselves and their unborn posterity, unconditional slaves, or to brave the horrors of war. Under every disadvantage, they resolutely determined on the latter; and after solemnly appealing to God and the

* "Our houses being constructed of brick, stone or wood, though destroyed, may be rebuilt; but liberty once gone, is lost forever," was an observation made in Congress by C. Gadson, of South Carolina.

world, for the justice of their cause, and supported by the rectitude of their principles, they bravely preferred to suffer present hardships and encounter present dangers, to a dereliction of the blessings of freedom.

For devising measures best adapted to the preservation of their endangered liberties, they called together their most enlightened patriots to form a Congress; by thus acting in totality, with concert of wills, they gave dignity, stability and consistency to their determinations.

In this Congress, for firmness, for patriotism and wisdom, ever to be renowned, WASHINGTON was pre-eminent; his moderation and his wisdom contributed amply to the stability and the propriety of the measures which were adopted. All pacific means, however, failed; our tyrants proceeded to compel us to submission by military force. This measure highly inflamed the American mind; the ferment increased, all hope of reconciliation vanished: on each side the sword was whetted. These combustibles shortly after blazed into a conflagration at Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775. In this dilemma, Congress assembled the brave, but untutored sons of America. In the choice of General, the fittest to command them, there was but one voice, and that voice was for the brave WASHINGTON. In cases of danger, pride and envy naturally subside, and leave the post of honour to virtue. He was so well known by the happy conduct of his youth, in the former war, that his merit commanded unanimity. He accepted the appointment with that degree of modesty which ever accompanies superior talents, declaring with the utmost sincerity, that he did not think himself equal to the command with which he had been honoured.

On the 3d of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, and entered upon the duties of his high and important station. With never-ceasing gratitude, America will admire the patient, accommodating, energetic mind of her WASHINGTON, who in a short time, and in view of a well appointed veteran army, converted an undisci-

plined militia into a regularly organized force, capable of joining the combat with an enemy, superior in every thing but valour. WASHINGTON appeared to possess an intuitive knowledge of the human character; with a discerning eye he distinguished and chose men most capable of performing the various functions of every department.

In 1776, we learned with the keenest distress, that the unnatural parent state had not only refused to redress our grievances already complained of, but had also declared the Colonies out of her protection, and employed foreign mercenaries to assist in effecting their conquest and subjugation. Already were our seas plundered, our coasts ravaged, our towns burnt, and many of our lives destroyed. Common sense taught the Americans, that protection and allegiance were reciprocal; and that Great-Britain had abdicated the government of America, and forfeited all right ever after to govern her; and therefore, on the 4th of July, 1776, the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the universe for the rectitude of their intentions, did solemnly publish and declare, that the said States were, and of right ought to be, free and independent; that they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, and to do all other acts and things, which independent States might of right do; and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their most sacred honour.

The declaration of independence, and the manifesto, stating our grievances, and the reasons for determining on a final separation; and that we would hold the people of Great-Britain, as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends," will be pronounced a treasure of political knowledge, as long as language, the tongue of the world, shall exist.

Some well-meaning individuals, however, whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk from these laudable and necessary measures; the sage and heroic WASHINGTON heartily adopted them, because he saw they were founded in wisdom and right; and on the 9th of July, 1776, he caused the declaration of independence to be proclaimed before the army. With pleasure he saw both officers and men give their most hearty assent, and by their behaviour testify their warmest approbation of it. "It behoves us," said he, "to adopt such counsels, as under the smiles of a gracious and all kind Providence will be most likely to promote our happiness: I trust these decisive measures are calculated for that end, and will secure us that freedom and those privileges, which have been and are refused to us, contrary to the voice of nature and the British Constitution."

The contest now assumed an importance, to which it was not before entitled. It was no longer subjects contending with their sovereign; it was one free and independent nation at war with another.

In conducting this war, a bare relation of facts will be the highest encomium on the military skill of our General, and on the valour and patriotism of his brave army. He never suffered the enemy to force him into action contrary to his judgment, nor could they ever elude his enterprising vigilance, when an opportunity offered of attacking them with advantage. When pressed, no General knew better how to extricate himself, by manœuvres combining intrepidity with precaution. He ever attacked like a hero, and retreated like a General, always presenting a point to the enemy. Such, my fellow-citizens, was the General whose death we this day deplore. He was dreaded by the enemy, beloved by the citizens, and adored by the army, those brave defenders of their country; who, amidst all the accumulated wants and wretchedness the human mind can imagine, often without food, money or clothing, in the most inclement seasons, nobly persevered until

they secured that liberty we now enjoy. With equanimity and magnanimous firmness he pursued the object of the war, himself equal to the extremes of either fortune, never depressed by disasters, nor elated by victory; and when dictatorial powers were committed to his trust, he seized the first proper occasion to surrender them into the hands of the representatives of the sovereign people who had given them.

See him employing his last moments of authority over the revolutionary army, not in recounting the scenes of glory through which he had led them; but with a patriotism, unparalleled in history, admonishing them to crown their military fame by acting well the part of citizens.

To disband an army, sore from past neglect, and injured to the chance of war, which had not received the compensation promised as the reward of their valour, as the price of their blood and our independence, could have been accomplished by none but their beloved WASHINGTON. The truly pathetic feelings of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than on his taking a final leave of his companions in arms. That illustrious band, whose blood and whose bravery saved their country, posterity will admire; and the perpetual ebb of time will not diminish that admiration.

“With an heart full of love and gratitude,” said he, “I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable.” “That the duty of a soldier is not completed until he has acted well the part of a citizen,” was the maxim of WASHINGTON: let this have a due influence upon every American. When the citizen soldier shall cease to adhere to this maxim, then shall America bow her neck to the galling yoke of tyranny. When his skill and his valour had thus exalted and saved his country, and made her the happiest and freest on earth, behold

the man of the people retiring to the peaceful shades of private life, amidst the prayers and acclamations of his grateful countrymen. Let us view the victorious leader of our armies, having fully accomplished the purposes of his appointment, resigning his commission into the hands of Congress, with a modesty equal to the diffidence with which he had received it. The scene was truly august, and worthy being held up as an example to men in power in every quarter of the globe. Behold him, with scrupulous accuracy, accounting for every cent that had ever passed through his hands ; and without asking or receiving a single pecuniary boon for himself, like another Cincinnatus, returning to the plough.

Let us for a moment contrast this scene with those through which he had just passed. Various and keen must have been his anxieties, during the vicissitudes of that contest, which his wisdom and moderation had thus brought to so happy a conclusion. Sublime were the talents he displayed in those awful hours, when the "big war raged dreadfully glorious ;" in those tremendous scenes, when death-fraught balls, irresistible as fate, fell in showers around him. Illustrious hero ! the accomplishment of this immortal work has exalted thy character to the pinnacle of glory ; thy deeds have immortalized thy fame ; ages to come shall revere thy memory ; unborn millions shall bless the arm that wielded the sword of American freedom ; for thee this day thy country mourns.

The virtuous simplicity of his private life will add lustre to his public character. He was plain in his address and manners, affable and attentive to all around him ; no man understood better the dependency of happiness upon virtue. He was pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere ; vice shuddered and virtue was ever cherished in his presence. He was a man of confirmed good habits. To apply life, at best but short, to the most useful purposes, it was his unvarying cus-

tom to rise before the sun.* Through the day he husbanded every moment to the best advantage ; system and economy pervaded every apartment ; under his own roof was manufactured almost all that was used by his numerous household ; but to acquire and communicate practical knowledge in agriculture was his favourite pursuit. He received rare seeds, and the result of new experiments, from every quarter ; he made such copious notes on his own experiments, on the state of the seasons, on the nature of soils, and on the effects of different kinds of manure, as will throw great light on the farming business. Such, my friends, was the rural simplicity of the life of WASHINGTON, for whom our nation mourns.

The penetrating mind of General WASHINGTON had discovered, before he retired from command, the inefficiency of the Confederation to answer completely the purposes of either peace or war. He had already said, in his circular letter to the Governors of the different States, "If the citizens of America should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own ; the cup of blessing is reached out to them ; happiness is theirs, if they seize the occasion, and make it their own : yet there is an option left, whether the United States will be respectable and prosperous,

* It was his custom to rise at dawn of day, and to read or write until breakfast ; which he usually made on three small hoe cakes and as many dishes of tea. From breakfast until his hour of dressing for dinner, he usually employed in visiting his different farms. He commonly dined on a single dish, and drank five or six glasses of wine ; this, with a glass of punch or beer, and tea before sun-down, constituted his whole sustenance until next day. His table was daily prepared for company, whether he had them or not. After dinner, it was his custom to pass an hour at table in convivial conversation. He perfectly relished a fall of wit or a pleasant story ; and after this sociable and innocent relaxation, he applied himself to business until about nine o'clock, when he retired to rest. This was his family routine ; but when company were present, he politely attended them until they wished to withdraw. Much of his time was necessarily devoted to the literary characters, both in Europe and America, who were ambitious of his correspondence, as well as to the perusal of newspapers, periodical publications, and other literary productions, sent him by the authors on both sides of the Atlantic ; and to the investigation of natural curiosities and mechanical inventions, submitted to his approbation. With the utmost benignity did he take notice of this vast variety of subjects, which claimed his attention.

or contemptible and miserable as a nation." "Give to the Federal Government," said he, "such a tone as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution. If you relax its powers, you will annihilate the cement of society, and expose yourselves, the sport of European politics. Let liberty be the basis, and independence the superstructure of your government; and whoever shall dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the superstructure, under whatever specious pretext the attempt be made, let him receive the bitterest execrations, the severest punishment his injured country can inflict. Whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the Union, or violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to liberty and independence, and the authors of them treated accordingly." A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the social compact, and a constant adherence to those of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry and frugality, are absolutely necessary to the preservation of liberty, and the maintenance of a free government. Let the people pay particular attention to these principles in the choice of their officers and representatives. "Let (said he) a pacific and friendly disposition prevail; make mutual concessions for the general good, and when necessary, sacrifice individual advantage for the interest of the community. According to the policy of the General Government you will stand or fall, and with your confirmation or lapse it will be decided, whether the revolution will ultimately prove a blessing or a curse; not to the present generation alone, for with their fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved. Unless you preserve your governments so free and uncorrupted, and so happily guarded against oppression, as to enable you to participate the fruits of the revolution, by enjoying the essential benefits of civil liberty, it will be a subject of regret that so much blood and treasure have been lavished to no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and so many sacrifices made in vain."

The painful experience of four years verified the truth of these observations, and convinced us of the necessity of an efficient government. It was discovered that liberty, without an efficient and rational government, was only a license for the strong to trample upon the weak. The union of the States was suspended by a thread; public credit was destroyed; our laws were lifeless; confusion, difficulty and danger hung over us.

Sacred shades of our departed heroes! was it for this order of things your precious blood was shed? Was it to substitute anarchy that ye annihilated monarchy; that ye endured with patience so much distress; that ye surmounted so many difficulties? Surely it was not: it was to establish a republican government, so constituted, as to allow the ungovernable license to none, and to extend salutary protection to all.

Here again did America exhibit one of those mighty spectacles, which none but republics can imitate: four millions of people, by their representatives, forming, arranging, and posing with deliberation and coolness, the mighty limits of the federal and state governments; and accommodating, with a spirit of amity, the diversified interests of a vast empire. Of this illustrious Convention, our WASHINGTON was President.

To give stability and dignity to a government, and at the same time to leave every individual the full enjoyment of all his rights, comporting with the good of the whole, has been reserved by the Almighty Legislator of heaven for the fortunate genius of the Americans. Our Constitution of government is the production of our deliberate choice; in it is displayed the majesty of the people; by their valour the people obtained the right to govern themselves. In their wisdom they chose a time of peace and tranquillity to deliberate upon the plan, and with the examples of ancient and modern governments before them, they wisely adopted our happy Federal Constitution. The plan was first digested

by a band of tried patriots, of able statesmen, elected by the free choice of the people. Here was concentrated in truth and in fact, the wisdom, the integrity of a nation. After mature deliberation; after balancing all considerations, local and general, the plan was proposed to the people at large: it was published for the approbation or disapprobation of every one interested in it; after which, by a second free election, persons were appointed in each State to re-consider it, and empowered finally to adopt or reject it. Under all these cautions and scrutinies, has it been ratified and confirmed; and we have felt the happy effects of it, and shall continue to feel them, as long as we retain our virtuous principles; but an abandoned and profligate people can never be happy.

The wisdom and experience of WASHINGTON had a principal share in forming that valuable depository of our independence and happiness, which has cemented our union, restored our credit, established justice, and insured, as far as human wisdom can insure, to us and to our posterity, the blessings of freedom; that Constitution which has enabled us to assume our proper station among the nations of the earth.

The illustrious hero, whose prudence and whose valour had saved his country, was called by the unanimous voice of the American people, to preside in the administration of this Constitution. Here again we behold him, sacrificing domestic ease and rural tranquillity to the imperious call of his country. In this exalted station, his enlightened and magnanimous policy gave her an elevated rank in the scale of nations; the plots of intriguers and appearances of revolt were detected by his vigilance, and suppressed by his power. To conciliate peace with all the world, to check every deviation from the line of impartiality, to explain what might have been misunderstood, and to correct what might have been injurious to any nation, was the policy steadily pursued by the wise WASHINGTON. By his arm were the hostile savages vanquished, and through

his humanity was their condition meliorated. The prudent neutrality which he adopted, and to which he adhered with inflexible firmness, has preserved us from becoming parties in a destructive war, by which some of the fairest provinces in Europe have been deluged with blood, and ruin spread far and wide, over all quarters of the globe. Through his sound and honest policy, persevered in at the expense of no duty, America, ever faithful to herself, exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled by any nation.

Before the expiration of his last presidential term, he gave us his paternal advice, which, if duly attended to, will forever preserve to us the inheritance of freedom. Let us pursue this advice, and never depart from it; it is addressed to us all; it is addressed to every American. "Let the union of the States," said our deceased WASHINGTON, "and the reciprocity of interests be the ground-work of your political existence; let the illiberal spirit of party be banished forever from among you; let just and amicable feelings, devoid of all partialities and antipathies, regulate your conduct with all nations; guard against the interference of foreign nations in your internal concerns." In this advice, our WASHINGTON still lives; in this bequest of the father of our country, to the whole American people, our WASHINGTON will forever live, in the hearts and minds of all patriots over the whole globe; and his venerable name will descend, with unfading glory, down the perpetual succession of time, through ages of ages.

After having twice served as President, he again retired to the seat of his fondest predilection, to the pursuits of domestic life, and the society of his friends. Here it was the wish of his heart to pass the remainder of his days in peaceful repose; but, alas! this interval was of short duration. A storm had arisen in a distant nation, whose sympathy with us in the hour of distress merited and received our warmest gratitude. With

pride and approbation did America see that nation, to which she had taught the first lessons of liberty, contending zealously for the attainment of it. Never did one nation sympathize more cordially with another, than America did with France, when she first engaged in that task, which we had but just accomplished. This national harmony, founded in good offices, and strengthened by a similarity of pursuits, it was fondly hoped would be perpetual; but from causes beyond our control, it has proved otherwise. The ambitious rulers of that unhappy nation, overstepping the bounds of moderation and justice, made enormous and degrading demands upon our gratitude. Forgetting the respect due to a sister republic, they violated the rights of neutrality, obstructed and harassed our commerce, contrary to existing treaties. By the insidious intrigues and diplomatic skill of their agents, they tried every artifice to create disunion among us; and in the intoxication of victory, they contemptuously insulted our ministers of peace. Knowing that every concession, indicative of fear or weakness, would but prove an incentive to new and more degrading demands, the necessity was imposed upon us of putting ourselves in the most proper position to meet the last extremity. Again did Vernon's virtuous veteran, solicited by the voice of his country, that voice which he never could resist, gird on his sword and prepare him for the defence of his country's rights. In this attitude was he taken from us, by Him who decides upon the fate of mortals, and this day we deplore our loss. He will no more lead our armies to victory, he will no more diffuse wisdom in our councils. Often have we omitted to express the real feelings of our souls, lest we should be thought to flatter; but now, alas! who shall flatter the dead? If we say that we loved and revered him as a father, we speak the language of our own hearts, we speak the language of all who fought, who suffered and who conquered under him; of all who now enjoy the

fruits of his toils in the field, of his wisdom in the cabinet.

Nature does not always observe a due proportion between the endowments of the mind and body ; but in this he was peculiarly her favourite. With a mind co-extensive with every object, she gave him a comely, majestic person, well proportioned, tall and active ; with regular manly features, a very interesting countenance and penetrating eye ; his deportment was easy and graceful, with an air of benevolence and dignity ; his constitution, naturally good, was by temperance and exercise preserved sound to an advanced age. With pure and upright intentions, he possessed a correct, sound judgment ; with great calmness and deliberation in forming determinations, an invincible firmness and perseverance in the execution of them. His abilities and courage were equal to objects of the first magnitude ; uninfluenced by prejudice, and with integrity incorruptible, did he guide the helm of state, did he direct the storm of war. His orders, letters and speeches, and above all, his two farewell addresses, (to repeat which is the pride of every orator) will be lasting testimonies of the goodness of his heart, and of the eloquence of his pen.*—But, alas ! our benefactor is now gone the way of all flesh, and we can but deplore our loss : the time is unfortunate ; but thy will be done, O ! thou Father of spirits.

And now, my fellow-citizens, shall I claim your attention a moment, in taking a comparative view of our flourishing state at this period, with our wretched condition when our WASHINGTON took the command of our armies ? Sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, abounding in all the necessaries and conveniences of life, we are possessed of absolute freedom and independence. The actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems peculiarly designed by

* " Fit words attended on his weighty sense,
And mild persuasion flow'd in eloquence."

Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity, surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of domestic enjoyment; Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by affording a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever enjoyed. Here the rights of mankind are more clearly defined, and better understood, than in any other quarter of the globe; our laws are made equitable, expounded impartially, and executed faithfully. Here no gloomy superstition reigns, no subordination of one sect or denomination to any other: every one, who acknowledges the being of a God, is entitled to every civil right, at liberty to enjoy his own religious professions, and to worship God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his conscience; Here the researches of the human mind after social happiness, are carried to a great extent. The treasures of knowledge, acquired by philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of ages, are here laid open for use, and their collected wisdom happily applied in our forms of government. The cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have shed their meliorating influence over us, increased the blessings of society, refined our manners, and liberalized our sentiments.

This, my fellow-citizens, is a sketch of that happy state in which the labours of your WASHINGTON have had a principal instrumentality in placing you; does it not become us to deplore the loss of the citizen, who had this high agency, under Providence, in producing our now happy state—who spent so many anxious days and watchful nights in obtaining our freedom—who consumed the prime of his long and valuable life in the service of his country? A due adherence to his precepts will insure our political salvation, and be no bar to our eternal felicity.

Let the young man who aspires to merit the love of his country, contemplate the youth of WASHINGTON,

and let him go and do likewise ; the road to greatness lies open to all, the opportunities of many are superior to his. Let the farmer imitate him, and he will become prosperous and opulent ; let the relative imitate him, and he will live comfortable and happy ; the military man need not be informed, that WASHINGTON's character is the great model of military merit ; the enlightened statesman will do well to imitate his example, and to follow his precepts. They are the precepts of wisdom, uttered in the undisguised language of freedom and sincerity ; and dictated by the rectitude of a heart, which disdained unworthy motives : that heart is now mingled with the dust !

This indeed is a day of mourning. South-Carolina has a twofold cause of grief ! The same omnipotent hand, which has removed the father of our country, has since deprived us of the not less virtuous, though more limited services of our beloved RUTLEDGE. To our affliction this gives double poignancy—we feel as men, as friends, and as citizens ; but let us not despair. That beneficent Power, who, with a guardian hand, conducted us through the gloomy horrors of revolutionary conflict, and has placed us on the solid basis of independence and happiness ; who, to answer the great purposes of his moral government, has taken from us a WASHINGTON, a MIFFLIN, a HENRY, and a RUTLEDGE, will never leave us destitute of heroes in the field—of sages in the cabinet.

An Oration

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *PORTLAND*, February 22, 1800, by Appointment of the Selectmen, agreeable to the Vote of the Town.

BY ISAAC PARKER.

SOME weeks, my respected fellow-citizens, have elapsed, since you were afflicted with the melancholy assurance, that the man whose virtues and whose talents you have so long been accustomed to revere, had paid the last sad debt of nature.

To the impulse of that moment I appeal for testimony, that no public misfortune could have occurred equally interesting to your feelings. Your immediate suspension of the ordinary occupations of life, witnessed the sincerity of your grief; and your general resort to the *temple* of the Most High, testified that under the sense of a great national calamity, you *there* sought a consolation which the world could not afford.

Numberless have been the effusions of grief and respect which have spontaneously issued from every division of our country on this distressing event; not a city or village in this extended empire but has devoted its day to the contemplation of the sublime virtues of their departed benefactor: and yet, so deeply are we interested to view and review the life and character of the illustrious and beloved WASHINGTON, so intimately were his virtues connected with the general and individual happiness of the people of America, that *this day* also, consecrated to his memory by the supreme council of the nation, will be observed with unfeigned solemnity and respect.

What a sad picture of human life, its prospects, its honours, and its splendour, does this day present to our view !—Hitherto it has ranked high in the bright register of American festivals ; second only to the glorious epoch of our independence, and celebrated as the natal day of him by whose instrumentality that independence was secured. But, alas ! it is now devoted to the solemn and affecting purpose of lamenting the death of him, who has so long been the object of its hilarity and mirth.

Could a nation's tears have arrested the fatal malady which extinguished a life so invaluable ; could such transcendent virtues have given claim to an exemption from the common doom of man ; the hours we now devote to humble reverence of an afflicting Providence, would have appeared in their usual gaiety ; and your hearts, now saddened with grief, would have felt those sensations of gratitude and joy, which this anniversary has hitherto been calculated to inspire.

If, as has been beautifully intimated by an eloquent heathen, superior intelligencies can find gratification in the view of human magnanimity struggling with distress, the august spectacle of a nation paying its undivided tribute of respect to departed virtue, will be contemplated with no less complacency and delight. The solemn mockery of woe, which the people of other nations have assumed on the death of their tyrant or his favourite, with faces that ill conceal their joy at the event they affect to mourn ; contrasted with the deep, sincere and universal demonstrations of regret, which our national bereavement has produced, exhibits as strong a dissimilarity, as exists between the character of those who have heretofore excited the admiration of mankind, and of him whose loss we so unaffectedly deplore.

Conquests, for no end but the aggrandizement of their achiever ; victories, in which no public good justified the sacrifice of blood ; triumphs, which were a display of the most ferocious inhumanity, have raised, in

the view of a weak and fascinated multitude, the conquerors and heroes of antiquity to a rank above mortality. And the characters of these fell destroyers of their race have been selected, by the corrupt judgment of moderns, as patterns for imitation and applause.

Strange as may seem the assertion, history incontestably proves its truth, that the successful exercise of those passions, whose operation are the most baleful to human nature, has commanded the admiration if not the esteem of mankind in every age of the world. The science of destruction, the arts of desolation and ruin, have secured to their fortunate professors the most elevated seat in the temple of honour; and the blind and deluded populace, whose blood and whose treasure have been exhausted to attain this unmerited exaltation, have stupidly fallen down and worshipped the idol their miseries created.

That celebrated maniac who swam in the blood of nations, and sported with the lives of his subjects to feed an insatiable thirst of fame; for the honour of mankind, instead of being held up to the wonder and applause of the world, should have been delivered over to its execration and contempt. But such are the wayward propensities of man—so much do the splendid take rank of the useful qualities, in his estimation, that the inebriated incendiary of Persepolis, and murderer of the friend who saved his life, received divine honours from his contemporaries, and is still the idol of fashionable adoration; while the benevolent peregrinations of a Howard, to relieve human wretchedness, and abate the rigour of misfortune, have met, it is true, the cold applause of the virtuous, but never perhaps will excite even *their* emulation.

Thanks be to Heaven, the man whom it selected to be its willing instrument of the independence and prosperity of this grateful people, was adorned with all the virtues which so dignified an agency required, unsullied with the vices by which most of the conquerors and heroes of history have been disgraced!—And may not we, Ame-

ricans ! indulge the virtuous boast, that the merits, and not the rank ; the usefulness, and not the splendour ; the services, and not the fortune of WASHINGTON, have invited the tears which have so copiously flowed at his death.

Had his merits been attested only by the celebrity of his victories, or his reputation by the laurels of the field, admiration, unmixed with regret, would have attended him to his grave. But as patriotism was the invigorating principle of his actions ; as his victories were obtained for his country ; as his life was successfully devoted to her cause ; gratitude, love, respect, and all the worthy sentiments of the heart, hover round his tomb, and bear testimony to the grief of a nation.

Of him whose illustrious deeds have been the theme of universal praise, from the commencement of active life to the day his death is deplored ; and to an audience composed of his contemporaries, a minute history is not demanded by the occasion. A slight review of scenes familiar to all, in which the history of our country and its benefactor are intimately blended, will satisfactorily discharge the duty assigned me.

When the people of this Western World, goaded by oppression into resistance, and reasoned into the determination to become independent, first resorted to force ; their defenceless condition, poverty of finances, arms, ammunition, and a disciplined soldiery, rendered the attempt ridiculous to some, and problematical in the view of all.

A motley people, who for the first time began to feel a common interest, with conflicting pretences, and almost invincible jealousies, composed the army destined to contend with one of the mightiest powers of the earth. With no qualities of the soldier but valour—with political principles obnoxious to military discipline—with habits of equality averse, even to necessary subordination—the independent yeomanry of distant regions were summoned together to fight in a common cause, and brought with them the local pride, preju-

dices and affected contempt of each other, which threatened dissolution to the army, almost as soon as it was created.

On the judicious selection of a supreme commander to this irregular force, was perhaps at that moment suspended the fate of empire. The art of governing the mind was as requisite as the art of war ; the power of moulding the passions was not an inferior qualification to that of conducting a battle. Impressed with the mighty consequence of their choice, and guided by the unerring counsels of Heaven ; the venerable assembly of patriots, who conducted the early part of our revolution, unanimously called to the eminent and hazardous post, the illustrious WASHINGTON.

His fame had already acquired a maturity, to which more advanced age has but seldom attained. Uniting the temperate deliberation of age, with the energy and activity of youth, at a period of life commonly devoted to the precepts of the closet, he was distinguished among his countrymen for political sagacity as well as military enterprise. In the school of adversity he learned those lessons of prudence and discretion, which he afterwards practised so much to his own glory, and the happiness of his country. With a mind too great to feel local prejudice—too just to indulge unwarrantable partialities—he considered America as a nation almost before her birth ; and was disposed to draw merit into estimation in whatever region it grew.

To this magnanimity of character, combined with a spirit of perseverance which never lost sight of its object, may be imputed the wonderful event in our history, that from a heterogeneous mass of people diverging in their affections, and almost hostile in their opinions, was at once created a patriotic band of brothers, acknowledging their beloved Commander as their common father, patron and friend.

An army thus united in sentiment and in object, led by a General of such talents and so much popularity, soon discovered itself equal to the task it had assumed,

of defending its injured country ; and the speedy expulsion of the enemy from our northern capital, gave the first earnest of the result of our bold and virtuous struggle for liberty and independence.

The varying fortune of war, co-operating with the diminution of his army, having obscured with disasters a campaign which had opened so brilliantly ; the American General, great in prosperity, greater in adversity, did not despond at the gloomy aspect of the cause of which he was now the chief support ; but collecting all the mighty energies of his soul, at the moment when the zeal of patriotism in some began to languish ; when despair sat on the visage of all ; when the haughty and triumphant foe was arranging his proscriptions and his pardons ; the brilliant *coup de main* at Trenton, followed by the masterly achievement at Princeton, scattered the clouds which had seemed impenetrable, replenished the army on the point of dissolution, and gave a spirit and energy to our cause, which accompanied it to its happy issue.

The affairs of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, though, from causes which the Commander could not control, they failed of the complete success which the wisdom and skill of their contrivance had promised, taught the enemy to respect the talents of the man they were unable to conquer, and convinced the projectors of our subjugation abroad, that a brave people, united in a virtuous cause, under so able a leader, never could be subdued.

Through an arduous and obstinate struggle, in the face of an enemy generally superior in numbers, and always in discipline, with a broken and dispirited army, sometimes destitute of the means of war, and not unfrequently of the means of life, this wonderful man by his fortitude, sagacity and perseverance, kept in check the well appointed, well fed, and well furnished army of the enemy ; and, though not always victorious, limited the effect of every defeat to the spot on which it was sustained.

At length, aided by the troops of an illustrious, though since unfortunate ally, he devised and executed the memorable expedition against Yorktown, which gave to his victorious arms an entire army of the foe, commanded by the celebrated nobleman to whose abilities have since been committed the care of extending the British empire abroad, and preserving it from dismemberment at home.

This happy event, placing on high ground the American character for spirit and perseverance, taught our disappointed oppressors that conquest receded from their grasp, in proportion to their exertions and sacrifices to obtain it ; and drew from them the reluctant acknowledgment of the independence of a people, they had flattered themselves with being able to enslave.

Thus terminated the military career of the illustrious WASHINGTON. The insignia of office were restored to the hands which gave them ; and the world saw the novel and interesting scene of a nation pursuing with its praises, their defender and benefactor ; while he, alone ignorant of his glory, modestly withdrew himself from their acknowledgments.

If we reflect for a moment on the almost insuperable difficulties, the multiplied disasters, the protracted issue of a war dissimilar in its character to any that had occurred in history ; we shall find abundant reason for thankfulness to Heaven, for having given to our country perhaps the only man, who could have insured it eventual success.

Pursuing with invincible stability the object for which he relinquished all the felicities of life ; we find him collected in misfortune, prudent in success, with no ambition but for the honour of his country ; feeling no distress which happened in her cause. In his victories, if you look for the fullsome boasting, and pedantic gascade of the seducer rather than the conqueror of degenerated Italy, you will find in their stead the most ardent praises of his meritorious army, and devout acknowledgments to the God of battles. In defeat, you

find no inactive despondency ; no desperate sacrifice of blood ; but a mind capable of deriving advantage even from adverse fortune, and always presenting a formidable aspect to a victorious enemy.

Where are those passions, which have been seen to agitate the warriors of other nations when inflated with success, and triumphant in the glory of their arms. Had the *auri sacra fames*, that passion so universal, a place in his breast ? The British treasury would have been at the command of a man, whose defection would have enslaved his country. Did ambition, that vice so often allied to greatness, have any influence on his actions ? Then, like Sylla, the corrupt general of Rome, he would have led a discontented army to the seat of power, and fortified himself in the fears instead of the affections of the American people. Or, like the modern Sylla* of France, at a blow he would have extinguished the constitution of his country ; with the halberds of his grenadiers expelled the national representatives from the hall rendered sacred by their presence ; and under the imposing name of Dictator, Consul, or Triumvir, erected a sanguinary throne on the necks of a devoted people.

But with a popularity superior to that of any fortunate pretender to power in ancient or modern history, at a period when the feebleness of government could scarce have found a bayonet to protect itself from ruin,

* Buonaparte, who has been for several years so celebrated, has been compared to Julius Cesar and to Cromwell ; but it appears to me there is in his character a much stronger resemblance to Sylla than to either of these celebrated men. We have yet no evidence of his possessing the talents of Cesar, unless a puerile display of classical allusions, is received for evidence of great erudition and extensive information. He certainly has not shewn himself equal to Cromwell in canting, not even upon the jaded terms of liberty and equality, which he seems to have uttered with a very ill grace on his late usurpation. Like Sylla he is a man of accomplishments and ostentation ; like Sylla he was sent upon a foreign expedition ; like Sylla he returned to the city without leave from his government, and like Sylla, with his soldiers he has destroyed even the nominal liberty of his country. Whether like Sylla he will from magnanimity or a taste for debauchery abandon the throne he has usurped, is yet to be proved. The principal difference in the two characters is, that Sylla brought his army with him to share the fruits of his treachery ; Buonaparte ignobly abandoned his to perish by the sword or by pestilence.

this unparalleled man nobly stepped forth the champion of civil authority ; and by his management and address, a mutiny that would have conducted a Julius Cesar to empire, was dissipated without effect.

Nor is it less a subject of congratulation and gratitude, that the people who were to reap the reward of such preeminent merits and incorruptible integrity, were as constant in their affections as he in his virtues. Popular favour has, in all countries and in every age, been proverbially fickle, and republican gratitude has been estimated on the same scale with punic faith.

Camillus was compelled to fly from the Rome he had so often saved from destruction. Aristides was a victim to the ostracism of Athens ; and the hero of Marathon ended his days in a dungeon. But the people of America have never for a moment forgotten the services of their WASHINGTON, and have never withheld the expression of their gratitude.

In disasters that would have brought a score of French generals to the guillotine ; and in victories that would have sent as many to the sands of Arabia, they implicitly confided in the man they had chosen for their guide, followed him with their affection through every period of his life, and bear ample testimony to his merits, when removed from the scenes which his name hath so long embellished.

But America is not more indebted to this extraordinary man for the happy conduct and termination of a war, which threatened annihilation to her liberties, than for his instrumentality in producing a national compact, which alone has preserved her from the horrors of internal commotion or foreign domination. Called by the unanimous voice of a free and grateful people, to administer a government, he had contributed so much to procure ; when the returning jealousies of so many independent sovereignties could be appeased by nothing but the all-controlling popularity of WASHINGTON, he reluctantly exchanged the delightful tranquillity of his

beloved Mount Vernon, for the perilous and comfortless ocean of political eminence.

The early duties of his new situation were arduous and embarrassing. In organizing the new machine, in selecting appropriate talents for the great departments of government,* in discovering meritorious candidates for the subordinate machinery ; a political skill, knowledge of mankind, information of characters, and disinterestedness of opinion,† was exhibited wonderful from one whose talents and experience had been principally directed to the field. Though the characters of the statesman and the hero bear but little resemblance, yet his exact discharge even of the minuter duties of office, and his extensive view of the foreign and domestic relations of our country, shew that he was alike qualified for eminence in the cabinet and in the field.

Events of great moment soon demanded all the activity, fortitude and energy of his capacious soul. Placed in an elevated and highly responsible situation, at a period big with prodigies and monsters ; when the elements of social connexion seemed in a state of separation ; when the moral world was fast falling into chaos ; when the political fanaticism of the age had spread itself across the Atlantic, and infected with its

* What government was ever administered with more fidelity than ours ? and where can you find more talents and character, than in the principal departments ? For a President, a WASHINGTON ; for a Vice President, an ADAMS ; for Chief Justice, a JAY ; for Secretary of Treasury, an HAMILTON ; Secretary at War, a KNOX ; Secretary of State, a JEFFERSON ; who, however dangerous his politics, is unquestionably a man of eminent talents. In short, never did a government begin its career under more auspicious circumstances to insure it the love of its citizens and the respect of strangers.

† I have heard, though I will not vouch for the truth of the story, that sometime during the war a coolness took place between General WASHINGTON and Colonel now General Hamilton ; in consequence of which the latter left the family of the former. Notwithstanding this, to the immortal honour of these great men, General WASHINGTON, when President, gave Mr. Hamilton the most important office under the new Government ; an office which perhaps not another man in the United States could in its commencement have executed with equal ability, fidelity, and public economy. And Mr. Hamilton has ever been animated in the praise of General WASHINGTON, while in office and when only a citizen.

baleful contagion, our till then healthy atmosphere ; at this portentous crisis, threatening with devastation every country that acknowledged a God, or was happy in a government ; our magnanimous political pilot opposed his impenetrable resolution to the mighty deluge, resisted the almost resistless torrent of faction, and preserved, with equal hand, the helm of government, till the fury of the tempest was over.

When the grand missionary of democratic jesuitism passed into this country, to poison the sources of social happiness, to destroy the confidence of the people in their government, and to undermine the institutions of religion and morality ; when this missionary was received by some of our apostate brethren with affection and joy, and the destructive principles of demoralizing sophists became fashionable among us ; at this eventful crisis, auspicious to faction, perilous to civil and political liberty ; had not the formidable and venerated name of WASHINGTON been opposed to the prevailing degeneracy, who can say what would have been the fate of our devoted nation ? Who can say, that we should not, like others, have been debased into a servile colony under the alluring appellation of ally to the self-styled Great Nation ; forced to starve our wives and our children to pamper an intemperate band of myrmidons, placed over us to protect our *liberties* ; and with the bayonet at our throats, compelled to sing hosanna at each diurnal rotation of the mighty political phenomenon, which deals death and destruction to all that fall within the vortex of her course ?

Having conducted his country safely through a period of such imminent hazard ; having, with an ability which seldom has been equalled and never can be surpassed, honourably preserved the national neutrality in a season of universal tempest ; having successfully terminated a cruel and relentless war with the savages, fraught with horror to our frontiers ; having crushed a formidable rebellion ; having triumphed over the persevering spirit of faction ; having, by the dignity and

stability of his measures, given respectability to our nation abroad ; having seen the people under his administration prosperous and happy at home ; having twice, at an interval of four years, in a country where every act of administration is open to public scrutiny, received the unanimous suffrage of his fellow-citizens for the first eminence in their gift ; having moreover a reasonable assurance that his illustrious Copatriot, who now presides in our government, would succeed to the honours which he was about to relinquish, he indulged the wishes which a sense of duty to his country had before suppressed, and again sought repose in the retirement he so ardently loved. The voice of a grateful people again attended him to the retreat he was about to ornament, and the animated prayers of a happy people ascended to Heaven for his life and felicity.

Though thus removed from the conspicuous theatre of public life, the name of WASHINGTON was not lost to his country or the world. When the rapacity and insult of an overbearing nation menaced our unoffending shores with war ; when one of the elements daily bore testimony to already existing hostility ; when (to use his own elegant and expressive language) “ the last drop in the cup of reconciliation was exhausted ;” when the unwieldy armies of victorious France, without employment or money at home, threatened every country which was unprepared for their reception ; say, Americans ! next to your trust in Heaven, did you not feel a security, a confidence in the midst of danger, in the knowledge that your WASHINGTON, with his wisdom and his patriotism unabated, was still alive ? Yes ! the universal joy which his magnanimous acceptance of the command of the armies communicated throughout the nation, is abundant proof of the reliance placed on his name.

But ere the danger of his country demanded another resort to the field ; while the objects of his tender affections were growing doubly dear from the apprehension of another separation ; with the undiminished

affection of his country, and confidence of the government ; mature in years, maturer in glory, all-wise but to us mysterious Heaven (perhaps to show that our dependence is not to be placed in man ; to recal our reverence from the instrument to the author of our happiness) summoned him to itself. His mortal part is now at rest in the sepulchre of his fathers ; his sublime spirit has ascended to its God, in whose presence those transcendent virtues, which the honours of this world were insufficient to reward, will find most ample retribution.

A Funeral Oration

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Delivered *February 22*, 1800, by Appointment of a number of
the Clergy of NEW-YORK.

BY JOHN M. MASON, A. M.

Pastor of the Associate-Reformed Church in the City of New-York.

..... Quæ te tam læta tulerunt
Sæcula? Qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ
Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

VIRG.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE offices of this day belong less to eloquence than to grief. We celebrate one of those great events which, by uniting public calamity with private affliction, create in every bosom a response to the throes of an empire. God, who doeth wonders; whose ways must be adored, but not questioned, in severing from the embraces of America her first-beloved patriot, has imposed on her the duty of blending impassioned feeling with profound and un murmuring submission. An assembled nation, lamenting a father in their departed chief; absorbing every inferior consideration in the sentiment of their common loss; mingling their recollections and their anticipations; their wishes, their regrets, their sympathies, and their tears, is a spectacle not more tender than awful, and excites emotions too mighty for utterance. I should have no right to complain, Americans, if, instead of indulging me with your attention, you should command me to retire, and leave you to weep in the silence of woe. I should deserve the reprimand, were I to appear before you with the pretensions of eulogy. No! Eulogy has mistaken

her province and her powers, when she assumes for her theme the glory of WASHINGTON. His deeds and his virtues are his high eulogium. His deeds most familiar to your memories, his virtues most dear to your affections. To me, therefore, nothing is permitted but to borrow from yourselves. And though a pencil more daring than mine would languish in attempting to retrace the living lines which the finger of Truth has drawn upon your hearts, you will bear with me, while, on a subject which dignifies every thing related to it, 'I tell you that which you yourselves do know.'

The name of WASHINGTON, connected with all that is most brilliant in the history of our country, and in human character, awakens sensations which agitate the fervours of youth, and warm the chill bosom of age. Transported to the times when America rose to repel her wrongs, and to claim her destinies, a scene of boundless grandeur bursts upon our view. Long had her filial duty expostulated with parental injustice. Long did she deprecate the rupture of those ties which she had been proud of preserving and displaying. But her humble entreaty spurned; aggression followed by the rod, and the rod by scorpions, having changed remonstrance into murmur, and murmur into resistance, she transfers her grievances from the throne of earth to the throne of heaven; and precedes by an appeal to the God of judgment, her appeal to the sword of war.

At issue now with the mistress of the seas; unfurnished with equal means of defence; the convulsive shock approaching; and every evil omen passing before her, one step of rashness or of folly may seal her doom. In this accumulation of trouble, who shall command her confidence, and face her dangers, and conduct her cause? God, whose kingdom ruleth over all, prepares from afar the instruments best adapted to his purpose. By an influence which it would be as irrational to dispute as it is vain to scrutinize, he stirs up the spirit of the statesman and the soldier. Minds on which he has bestowed the elements of greatness, are

brought, by his providence, into contact with exigencies which rouse them into action. It is in the season of effort and of peril that impotence disappears, and energy arises. The whirlwind which sweeps away the glow-worm, uncovers the fire of genius, and kindles it into a blaze, that irradiates at once both the zenith and the poles.

But among the heroes who sprung from obscurity, when the college, the counting-house, and the plough teemed with "thunderbolts of war," none could, in all respects, meet the wants and the wishes of America. She required, in her leader, a man reared under her own eye; who combined with distinguished talent, a character above suspicion; who had added to his physical and moral qualities the experience of difficult service; a man, who should concentrate in himself the public affections and confidences; who should know how to multiply the energies of every other man under his direction, and to make disaster itself the means of success—his arm a fortress and his name a host. Such a man it were almost presumption to expect; but such a man all-ruling Heaven had provided, and that man was WASHINGTON.

Pre-eminent already in worth, he is summoned to the pre-eminence of toil and of danger. Unallured by the charms of opulence: unappalled by the hazard of a dubious warfare: unmoved by the prospect of being, in the event of failure, the first and most conspicuous victim, he obeys the summons, because he loves his duty. The resolve is firm, for the probation is terrible. His theatre is a world; his charge, a family of nations; the interest staked in his hands, the prosperity of millions unborn in ages to come. His means, under aid from on high, the resources of his own breast, with the raw recruits and irregular supplies of distracted Colonies. O crisis worthy of such a hero! Followed by her little bands, her prayers and her tears, WASHINGTON espouses the quarrel of his country. As he moves on to the conflict, every heart palpitates, and

every knee trembles. The foe, alike valiant and veteran, presents no easy conquest, nor aught inviting but to those who had consecrated their blood to the public weal. The Omnipotent, who allots great enjoyment as the meed of great exertion, had ordained that America should be free; but that she should learn to value the blessing by the price of its acquisition. She shall go to a "wealthy place," but her way is "through fire and through water." Many a generous chief must bleed, and many a gallant youth sink, at his side, into the surprised grave; the field must be heaped with slain; the purple torrent must roll, ere the angel of peace descend with his olive. It is here, amid devastation, and horror, and death, that WASHINGTON must reap his laurels, and engrave his trophies on the shields of immortality. Shall Delaware and Princeton? Shall Monmouth and York?—But I may not particularize; far less repeat the tale which babes recite, which poets sing, and fame has published to the listening world. Every scene of his action was a scene of his triumph. Now, he saved the republic by more than Fabian caution; now, he avenged her by more than Carthaginian fierceness. While, at every stroke, her forests and her hills re-echoed to her shout, "The sword of the LORD and of WASHINGTON!" Nor was this the vain applause of partiality and enthusiasm. The blasted schemes of Britain; her broken and her captive hosts, proclaimed the terror of his arms. Skilled were her chiefs, and brave her legions; but bravery and skill rendered them a conquest more worthy of WASHINGTON. True, he suffered, in his turn, repulse and even defeat. It was both natural and needful. Unchequered with reverse, his story would have resembled rather the fictions of romance, than the truth of narrative: and had he been neither defeated nor repulsed, we had never seen all the grandeur of his soul. He arrayed himself in fresh honours by that which ruins even the great—vicissitude. He could not only subdue an enemy, but, what is infinitely more, he could subdue misfor-

tune. With an equanimity which gave temperance to victory, and cheerfulness to disaster, he balanced the fortunes of the state. In the face of hostile prowess ; in the midst of mutiny and treason ; surrounded with astonishment, irresolution, and despondence, WASHINGTON remained erect, unmoved, invincible. Whatever ills America might endure in maintaining her rights, she exulted that she had nothing to fear from her commander in chief. The event justified her most sanguine presages. That invisible hand which girded him at first, continued to guard and to guide him through the successive stages of the revolution. Nor did he account it a weakness to bend the knee in homage to its supremacy, and prayer for its direction. This was the armour of WASHINGTON : this the salvation of his country.*

The hope of her reduction at length abandoned ; her war of liberty brought, in the establishment of independence, to that honourable conclusion for which it had been undertaken, the hour arrived when he was to resign the trust which he had accepted with diffidence. To a mind less pure and elevated, the situation of America would have furnished the pretext, as well as the means, of military usurpation. Talents equal to daring enterprise ; the derangement of public affairs ; unbounded popularity ; and the devotion of a suffering army, would have been to every other a strong, and to almost any other, an irresistible temptation. In WASHINGTON they did not produce even the pain of self-denial. They added the last proof of his disinterestedness ; and imposed on his country the last obligation to gratitude. Impenetrable by corrupting influence ; deaf to honest but erring solicitation ;

* The example of WASHINGTON reaches a poignant reproof to those who think, or act as if they thought, that religion is incompatible with greatness. The majesty of his character forbids a suspicion that his reverence for the worship of God, and his solicitude for the prevalence of religious principle, were either a tribute to prejudice, or a stratagem of state. But every possible doubt is removed by the fact, that it was his uniform practice, even during the war, to retire, at a certain hour, for the devotion of the closet.

irreconcilable with every disloyal sentiment, he urged the necessity, and set the example of laying down, in peace, arms assumed for the common defence.* But to separate from the companions of his danger and his glory, was, even for WASHINGTON, a difficult task. About to leave them forever, a thousand sensations rushed upon his heart, and all the soldier melted in the man. He who has no tenderness, has no magnanimity. WASHINGTON could vanquish, and WASHINGTON could weep. Never was affection more cordially reciprocated. The grasped hand; the silent anguish; the spontaneous tear trickling down the scarred cheek; the wistful look, as he passed, after the warrior who should never again point their way to victory,—form a scene for nature's painter, and for nature's bard.

But we must not lose, in our sensibility, the remembrance of his penetration, his prudence, his regard of public honour, and of public faith. Abhorring outrage; jealous for the reputation, and dreading the excesses, of even a gallant army, flushed with conquest, prompted by incendiaries, and sheltered by a semblance of right, his last act of authority is to dismiss them to their homes without entering the capital. Accompanied with a handful of troops, he repairs to the Council of the States, and, through them, surrenders to his country the sword which he had drawn in her defence. Singular phenomenon! WASHINGTON becomes a private citizen. He exchanges supreme command for the tranquillity of domestic life. Go, incomparable man! to adorn no less the civic virtues, than the splendid achievements of the field: Go, rich in the consciousness of thy high deserts: Go, with the admiration of the world, with the plaudit of millions, and the orisons of millions more for thy temporal and thine eternal bliss!

The glory of WASHINGTON seemed now complete. While the universal voice proclaimed that he might

* Morris' Oration.

decline, with honour, every future burden, it was a wish and an opinion almost as universal, that he would not jeopardize the fame which he had so nobly won. Had personal considerations swayed his mind, this would have been his own decision. But, untutored in the philosophism of the age, he had not learned to separate the maxims of wisdom from the injunctions of duty. His soul was not debased by that moral cowardice which fears to risk popularity for the general good. Having assisted in the formation of an efficient government which he had refused to dictate or enforce at the mouth of his cannon, he was ready to contribute the weight of his character to insure its effect. And his country rejoiced in an opportunity of testifying, that, much as she loved and trusted others, she still loved and trusted him most. Hailed, by her unanimous suffrage, the pilot of the state, he approaches the awful helm, and grasping it with equal firmness and ease, demonstrates that *forms* of power cause no embarrassment to him.

In so novel an experiment, as a nation framing a government for herself under no impulse but that of reason; adopting it through no force but the force of conviction; and putting it into operation without bloodshed or violence, it was all-important that her first magistrate should possess her unbounded good will. Those elements of discord which lurked in the diversity of local interest; in the collision of political theories; in the irritations of party; in the disappointed or gratified ambition of individuals; and which, notwithstanding her graceful transition, threatened the harmony of America, it was for WASHINGTON alone to control and repress. His tried integrity, his ardent patriotism, were instead of a volume of arguments for the excellence of that system which he approved and supported. Among the simple and honest whom no artifice was omitted to ensnare, there were thousands who knew little of the philosophy of government, and less of the nice machinery of the Constitution: but they knew that WASHINGTON was wise and good; they knew it was

impossible that *he* should betray them ; and by this they were rescued from the fangs of faction. Ages will not furnish so instructive a comment on that cardinal virtue of republicans, confidence in the men of their choice ; nor a more salutary antidote against the pestilential principle, that the soul of a republic is jealousy. At the commencement of her federal government, mistrust would have ruined America ; in confidence, she found her safety.

The re-appearance of WASHINGTON as a statesman, excited the conjecture of the old world, and the anxiety of the new. His martial fame had fixed a criterion, however inaccurate, of his civil administration. Military genius does neither confer nor imply political ability. Whatever merit may be attached to the faculty of arranging the principles, and prosecuting the details, of an army, it must be conceded that vaster comprehensions belong to the statesman. Ignorance, vanity, the love of paradox, and the love of mischief, affecting to sneer at the "mystery of government," have, indeed, taught, that common sense and common honesty are his only requisites. The nature of things and the experience of every people, in every age, teach a different doctrine. America had multitudes who possessed both those qualities, but she had only one WASHINGTON. To adjust, in the best compromise, a thousand interfering views, so as to effect the greatest good of the whole with the least inconvenience to the parts ; to curb the dragon of faction by means which insure the safety of public liberty ; to marshal opinion and prejudice among the auxiliaries of the law ; in fine, to touch the mainspring of national agency, so as to preserve the equipoise of its powers, and to make the feeblest movements of the extremities accord with the impulse at the centre, is only for genius of the highest order. To excel equally in military and political science, has been the praise of a few chosen spirits, among whom, with a proud preference, we enrol the father of our country.

It was the fortune of WASHINGTON to direct transactions of which the repetition is hardly within the limits of human possibilities. When he entered on his first Presidency, all the interests of the Continent were vibrating through the arch of political uncertainty. The departments of the new government were to be marked out, and filled up; foreign relations to be regulated; the physical and moral strength of the nation to be organized; and that at a time when scepticism in politics, no less than in religion and morals, was preparing, throughout Europe, to spring the mine of revolution and ruin. In discharging his first duties, that same intelligent, cautious, resolute procedure, which had rendered him the bulwark of war, now exhibited him as the guardian of peace. Appropriation of talent to employment, is one of the deep results of political sagacity. And in his selection of men for office, WASHINGTON displayed a knowledge of character and of business, a contempt of favoritism, and a devotion to the public welfare, which permitted the *General* to be rivalled only by the *President*.

Under such auspices, the fruit and the pledge of divine blessing, America rears her head, and recovers her vigours. Agriculture laughs on the land: Commerce ploughs the wave: Peace rejoices her at home; and she grows into respect abroad. Ah! too happy, to progress without interruption. The explosions of Europe bring new vexations to her, and new trials and new glories to her WASHINGTON. Vigilant and faithful, he hears the tempest roar from afar, warns her of its approach, and prepares for averting its dangers. Black are the heavens, and angry the billows, and narrow and perilous the passage. But his composure, dignity, and firmness, are equal to the peril. Unseduced by fraud; unterrified by threat; unawed by clamour, he holds on his steady way, and again he saves his country. With less decision on the part of WASHINGTON, a generous but mistaken ardour would have plunged her into the whirlpool, and left her till this hour the

support of the contending elements. Americans! bow to that magnanimous policy, which protected your dearest interests at the hazard of incurring your displeasure. It was thus that WASHINGTON proved himself, not in the cant of the day, but in the procurement of substantial good, in stepping between them and perdition, the servant of the people.

The historian of this period will have to record a revolt raised by infatuation against the law of the land.* He will have to record the necessity which compelled even WASHINGTON to suppress it by the sword. But he will have to record also his gentleness and his lenity. Deeds of severity were his sad tribute to justice: deeds of humanity the native suggestions of his heart.

Eight years of glorious administration created a claim on the indulgence of his country, which none could think of disputing, but which all lamented should be urged. The ends which rendered his services indispensable being mostly attained, he demands his restoration to private life. Resigning to an able successor the reins which he had guided with characteristic felicity, he once more bids adieu to public honours. Let not his motives be mistaken or forgotten. It was for him to set as great examples in the relinquishment, as in the acceptance, of power. No mortified ambition; no haughty disgusts; no expectation of higher office, prompted his retreat. He knew that foreign nations considered his life as the bond, and his influence as the vital spirit, of our union. He knew that his own lustre threw a shade over others, not more injurious to them than to his country. He wished to dispel the enchantment of his own name: he wished to relieve the apprehensions of America, by making her sensible of her riches in other patriots; to be a spectator of her prosperity under their management; and to convince herself, and to convince the world, that she depended less on him, than either her enemies or her friends believed. And therefore he withdrew.

* The Insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794.

Having lavished all her honours, his country had nothing more to bestow upon him except her blessing. But he had more to bestow upon his country. His views and his advice, the condensed wisdom of all his reflection, observation and experience, he delivers to his compatriots in a manual worthy of them to study, and of him to compose. And now, when they could hope to enjoy only the satisfaction of still possessing him, the pleasure of recounting his acts, and the benefit of practising his lessons, they accompany his retirement with their aspirations, that his evening may be as serene, as his morning had been fair, and his noon resplendent.

That he should ever again endure the solitudes of office, was rather to be deprecated than desired. Because it must be a crisis singularly portentous, which could justify another invasion of his repose. From such a necessity we fondly promised ourselves exemption. Flattering, fallacious security! The sudden whirlwind springs out of a calm. The revolutions of a day proclaim that an empire was. However remote the position of America; however peaceful her character; however cautious and equitable her policy; she was not to go unmolested by the gigantic fiend of Gallic domination. That she was free and happy, was crime and provocation enough. He fastened on her his murderous eye: he was preparing for her that deadly embrace, in which nations supine and credulous had already perished. Reduced to the alternative of swelling the catalogue of his victims, or arguing her cause with the bayonet and the ball, she bursts the ill-fated bonds which had linked her to his destinies, and assumes the tone and attitude of defiance. The gauntlet is thrown. To advance is perilous: to retreat, destruction. She looks wistfully round, and calls for WASHINGTON. The well-known voice, that voice, which he had ever accounted a law, pierces the retreats of Vernon, and thrills his bosom. Domestic enjoyments lose their charm; repose becomes to him inglo-

rious ; every sacrifice is cheap, and every exertion easy, when his beloved country requires his aid. With all the alacrity of youth, he flies to her succour. The helmet of war presses his silver locks. His sword, which dishonour had never tarnished, nor corruption poisoned, he once more unsheaths, and prepares to receive on its point the insolence of that foe, whose intrigue he had foiled by his wisdom.

It must ever be difficult to compare the merits of WASHINGTON's characters, because he always appeared greatest in that which he last sustained. Yet if there is a preference, it must be assigned to the Lieutenant-General of the Armies of America. Not because the duties of that station were more arduous than those which he had often performed, but because it more fully displayed his magnanimity. While others become great by elevation, WASHINGTON becomes greater by condescension. Matchless patriot ! to stoop, on public motives, to an inferior appointment, after possessing and dignifying the highest offices ! Thrice favoured country, which boasts of such a citizen ! We gaze with astonishment : we exult that we are Americans. We augur every thing great, and good, and happy. . . . But whence this sudden horror ? What means that cry of agony ? Oh ! 'tis the shriek of America ! The fairy vision is fled : WASHINGTON is——no more !——

“ How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished ! ”

Daughters of America, who erst prepared the festal bower and the laurel wreath, plant now the cypress grove, and water it with tears.

“ How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished ! ”

The death of WASHINGTON, Americans, has revealed the extent of our loss. It has given us the final proof that we never mistook him. Take his affecting testament, and read the secrets of his soul. Read all the power of domestic virtue. Read his strong love of letters and of liberty. Read his fidelity to republican principle, and his jealousy of national character. Read

his devotedness to you in his military bequests to near relations. "These fwords," they are the words of WASHINGTON, "these fwords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding of blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof."

In his acts, Americans, you have seen the man. In the complicated excellence of character, he stands alone. Let no future Plutarch attempt the iniquity of parallel. Let no soldier of fortune; let no usurping conqueror; let not Alexander or Cesar; let not Cromwell or Buonparte; let none among the dead or the living, appear in the same picture with WASHINGTON: or let them appear as the shade to his light.

On this subject, my countrymen, it is for others to speculate, but it is for us to feel. Yet in proportion to the severity of the stroke, ought to be our thankfulness that it was not inflicted sooner. Through a long series of years has GOD preserved our WASHINGTON a public blessing: and now that he has removed him forever, shall we presume to say, *What doest thou?* Never did the tomb preach more powerfully the dependence of all things on the will of the Most High. The greatest of mortals crumble into dust, the moment he commands, *Return, ye children of men.* WASHINGTON was but the instrument of a benignant GOD. He sickens, he dies, that we may learn not to *trust in men*, nor to *make flesh our arm*. But though WASHINGTON is dead; JEHOVAH lives. GOD of our fathers! be our GOD, and the GOD of our children! Thou art our refuge and our hope; the pillar of our strength; the wall of our defence, and our unfading glory!

AMERICANS! This GOD, who raised up WASHINGTON, and gave you liberty, exacts from you the duty of cherishing it with a zeal according to knowledge. Never fully, by apathy or by outrage, your fair inher-

itance. Risk not, for one moment, on visionary theories, the solid blessings of your lot. To you, particularly, O youth of America! applies the solemn charge. In all the perils of your country, remember WASHINGTON. The freedom of reason and of right, has been handed down to you on the point of the hero's sword. Guard, with veneration, the sacred deposit. The curse of ages will rest upon you, O youth of America! if ever you surrender to foreign ambition, or domestic lawlessness, the precious liberties for which WASHINGTON fought, and your fathers bled.

I cannot part with you, fellow citizens, without urging the long remembrance of our present assembly. This day we wipe away the reproach of republics, that they know not how to be grateful. In your treatment of living patriots, recal your love and your regret of WASHINGTON. Let not future inconsistency charge this day with hypocrisy. Happy America, if she gives an instance of universal principle in her sorrows for the man "first in war, first in peace, and first in the affections of his country!"

Eulogium

ON THE CHARACTER OF
GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Pronounced before the PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI, *February 22, 1800*, in the City of PHILADELPHIA.

BY MAYOR WILLIAM JACKSON,
AID-DE-CAMP TO THE LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CINCINNATI.

TO consecrate the memory of illustrious men—to record their actions, and to celebrate their praise, has been the laudable practice of every age, and the grateful duty of every people.

The rudest nations have thus dispensed the rewards and the motives of virtue; while the arts and sciences of polished society have contributed their noblest efforts to this, their best and highest application.

Conforming to this venerable usage, and influenced by all the nobler affections, the veteran associates of the immortal WASHINGTON have dedicated this auspicious day, to the review of his glorious achievements, and the celebration of his unrivalled fame.

But their too partial choice has devolved on incompetent powers, the performance of that duty, to which the highest order of genius would have been unequal.

Who shall delineate a just portrait of that character, which was perfect in all its relations—or in what language shall the story of that life be told, whose every action was above all praise?

To confer the just meed of eulogium on this inestimable character—to entwine the blended glories of the Hero and the Statesman—with them to mingle the milder radiance of religion and morals, would require an inspiration, not only of those sentiments, which per-

vade every class of men in this extensive nation—but of those opinions, which his unequalled worth has impressed throughout the world.

Of legislators, to whose labours and honours he was associated by all that was useful and dignified.

Of armies, to whom he was endeared by every obligation of gratitude and glory.

Of a people, by whom he was regarded as their father, guide, and protector.

Of the holy ministers of religion, by whom he was beloved and admired.

Of his enemies in war, by whom he was at once dreaded and revered.

Of the wise and just of all nations, of whom he was the ornament and the example.

In contemplating this necessary subdivision of the panegyric, which I am called to pronounce, this most respectable audience will be led to indulge a candour, proportioned to the magnitude of the subject, and the powers of the organ, to whom the arduous duty has been confided.

The suffrages, perhaps the prejudices, of mankind, have concurred in assigning to the profession of arms, the first station in the ranks of glory.

On the present occasion, however, the decision is of no importance.

The Hero, whom we now commemorate, was alike pre-eminent in council, and in the field; the olive and the laurel had equally contributed their honours to form the chaplet of his renown.

It is only, therefore, in the order of his distinguished services, that our attention is first attracted to his military career.

Nor is it the less interesting, that the first display of his brilliant genius in war, should have been made in concert with the troops of that nation, whose banners he was hereafter to brave—and whose legions he was destined to encounter in the defence of his country,

and in the maintenance of her freedom and independence.

Equally interesting is the singular fact, that a parent's fond solicitude had been the happy instrument of preserving him to that country, and to the high destination of his future honours---for, impelled by the martial disposition of his mind, he was about to engage in the naval service of Great-Britain at the infant age of fifteen years. But, restrained by filial affection, he yielded to the anxious entreaties of his mother, and relinquished the object of his choice.

Who does not bless the memory of this tender mother! who does not reverence the piety of her exalted son!

Thus was the stupendous fabric of his fame placed on the everlasting basis of virtue; and thus were the immense advantages, which flowed to his country, derived from the purest source of a private duty.

Summoned to the lists of glory at an age, when talents are unaided by experience, and when the ardour of youth is but little tempered by the rules of prudence, he formed, in his first essay in arms, a rare example of the most heroic valour, combined with the most consummate skill.

The one was exerted to stem the torrent of victory obtained by a vindictive foe; the other was employed to rescue from ruin the devoted remnant of an unfortunate army.

Admiring veterans resigned to the youthful warrior the protection of their discomfited troops, and committed to his superior judgment the conduct of a retreat, which covered him with glory, and wreathed his brow with the laurel of success.

The brave, but unhappy Braddock, expired in the anguish of defeat---the gallant, and sympathizing WASHINGTON was consoled by the safety, and honoured with the applause, of his surviving friends.

The high promise, which was here given of a vast capacity for war, was nobly realized in the command

and guidance of those armies, by whose active valour and inflexible fortitude, the liberties and sovereignty of the United States were maintained and established.

In that eventful moment, when representation and remonstrance had been exhausted---when the alternative of resistance alone remained to an injured people---when every hazard was preferred to abject submission---and when that people had resolved to meet their parent state in arms.

To whose care was the palladium of their liberties intrusted? On whom did the unanimous choice of their enlightened representatives, devolve the dangerous honour of conducting this last, this dread appeal?

To the virtue, the wisdom, the valour, and the fortitude, of your immortal WASHINGTON---to the Hero, who was at once the sword and buckler of his country, was the momentous trust confided.

To him was assigned the defence of our hearths and our altars---the protection of our women and children---and the preservation of all that was dear to freemen, our national honour.

How well, how faithfully, the sacred trust was discharged, let the splendid and important scenes of seven years conflict proclaim to an admiring world.

Impressed by a perfect sense of the high responsibility attached to his exalted station, and conscious of the pre-eminence in toil and danger to which he was called, he yielded implicit obedience to the summons---and, resigning the utmost enjoyment of domestic felicity, he was solely devoted to those duties, which involved the safety and happiness of his country.

Repairing to the immediate theatre of military operation, in the vicinity of Boston, he instantly communicated to the patriotic bands of New-England, that spirit of confidence, which was the result of his presence, and that observance of order, which was essential to effective force.

The extraordinary spectacle was exhibited, of a veteran army invested by the hasty levies of a people, whom it had been sent to coerce, and of that army indignantly expelled the land, which it had been commissioned to subdue.

This great event, which was to some the termination of their toil, and the period of their danger, was to him but the renewal of equal labours, the commencement of more anxious cares.

The invading army, strengthened by a vast accession of force, and supported by a powerful marine, resumed its operations; and, under leaders of distinguished bravery and talents, extended its menace to the entire subjugation of our country.

Success, correspondent to these immense preparations, was for a season obtained.

The firm, but unavailing, efforts of our intrepid Chief were restrained to defensive measures. Yet the hopes of America were reposed on that skilful policy, which he adopted to protract the war---and on that consummate prudence, by which he gave to defence the highest advantages, of which it was susceptible.

The retreat from Long-Island, which excited the astonishment, and extorted the praise of his enemy, will pass to posterity as a consummation in the art of war.

While the victorious enterprise of Trenton, and the successful attack at Princeton, will be commemorated as the restoration of public confidence, and the rescue of our declining cause.

Where is the war-worn soldier, whose ebbing pulse does not beat high at these remembrances!

Where is the emulous and gallant youth, who does not thence anticipate his own achievements in his country's cause!

Advancing to meet the incursion of a powerful army, he encountered their force at the Brandywine---where his gallant troops, though confident in the conduct, and animated by the example of their heroic leader, were compelled to resign, to discipline and numbers, the hard won honours of the field.

Repulsed, but not dismayed, he was soon in a capacity to resume the offensive---and deeply impressing the energies of his character, and displaying the vast resources of his mind, in the battle of Germantown, he unnerved the plans of subjugation, and invigorated the hopes of his country.

The movements of the main army of the enemy were arrested by the formidable position, which was occupied by our skilful Chief---and their further attempts were limited to the partial operation of detachments.

In assaulting the intrenched post at Red Bank, the German troops, led by the gallant Donop, were repulsed with dreadful slaughter, and their wounded leader was left a prisoner on the field.

The godlike WASHINGTON dispatched, from his camp, an officer to assure to him of his personal concern, and to offer every attention, which his situation might require---He was even charged with the care of his removal, if it should be desired, within the British lines.

The profound sensibility of the hostile Chief was expressed in the following message.

“ Convey, Sir, to General WASHINGTON, the deep
“ impression of my gratitude. My situation admits not,
“ at this time, of a personal acknowledgment---but the
“ first moments of my recovery, should such be the will
“ of Heaven, shall be devoted to place before him the
“ homage of my heart.”

Where is the testimonial of equal impression with the praise of a dying enemy !

What powers of eulogy can hope to reach the pathos of such praise !

The British army, alarmed for its safety in an untenable position, prepared to concentrate its force, and to re-occupy the post of New-York.

The strenuous efforts of the American Chief to engage a battle, and to intercept their retreat, were rendered abortive by an error in the conduct of a subordinate attack, at the plains of Monmouth, which enabled the British General to accomplish his purpose.

Passing to the last scene of our military drama, we are called to contemplate, on this great occasion, the vast and various powers, by which the Hero of our country was distinguished.

Wisdom to conceive---prudence to conceal---judgment to direct, and valour to execute a plan of operations, the most important in its consequences, which the annals of war can furnish, were eminently exemplified in the whole train of measures, by which the investment and capture of the British army, at York-Town, were formed and achieved.

The limits of this discourse do not admit a recital, which would include the varied incidents of the revolutionary war.

Compelled to abridge the enumeration of events, I have endeavoured to give to the most prominent points of action, distinguished by the presence of our gallant Chief, such illustration as might mark the progress of the contest, and tend to designate the wisdom and vigour of that conduct, by which the operations of our armies were directed, and the hopes of our country were completely realized.

It is with regret, as it is of necessity, that I pass, in summary relation, the judicious instructions issued to subordinate commands and detachments---the unremitting exertions, by which the organization and discipline of a new-formed army were effected---the anxious cares, by which that army was supplied---the sublime influence by which it was continued in active service, through the rigour of the most inclement seasons, and under the pressure of discouragement, which the mind shudders to review.

On these topics, the delighted historian will dilate with increasing praise; and instructed posterity will dwell with gratitude and pride.

At the approach of peace an occasion arose, in which the best faculties of his superior mind were summoned to their utmost exertion---and in which the feelings of

his heart were to meet in strong collision with the dictates of his judgment, and a paramount sense of public duty.

That army, by whose unshaken fidelity, and invincible fortitude, the glory and fortunes of America had been upheld, in all the vicissitudes of the war, was on the eve of dispersion.

Those faithful comrades, in honour and misfortune, were to separate forever, under the most afflicting circumstances of individual adversity.

To their country they had secured the blessings of peace, and the boon of independence---and to every class of their fellow-citizens, a full participation in those blessings, enhanced by the enjoyment of that property, which, in their protected avocations, they had been enabled to preserve or to acquire.

To the disbanded veteran, in the decline of life, was opened the cheerless prospect of extreme penury, aggravated, in many instances, by wounds and inability to labour---His honour and his arms, "the instruments of his glory," were all that he possessed.

Maimed, and disfigured by honourable scars, he was become a stranger in the place of his nativity---and he was no longer remembered by the companions of his early years. His long-left home was in the occupancy of another, and his future abode was only certain to be wretched.

While oppressed by these sensations, and assailed by the angry passions, which their situation excited, the army were invited, by every consideration, which the most seductive persuasion could suggest, to redress their wrongs, and resent the alleged ingratitude of their country.

Argument and eloquence were exhausted to effect the adoption of this fatal advice.

To counteract the dangerous measure---to preserve inviolate the honour of his troops, and the safety of his country, the wisdom and firmness of the virtuous WASHINGTON were immediately interposed.

With his heart wrung by the sufferings of the army

---with his mind deeply affected by the counsel, which had been offered to remedy their grievances---conscious of their merits, and no less sensible to the inability of the country to fulfil its stipulations, he convened his officers ; and presenting himself as mediator between the distresses of the troops, and the public incapacity, at that time, to relieve them---he addressed himself to their judgment, their honour, and their patriotism.

His opinions, framed on the irresistible conclusion of truth, and urged with all the force of reason and sentiment, were instantly adopted---and the sublime spectacle was exhibited of "an army, victorious over its enemy, victorious over itself."

In the last exercise of his military functions, the social interests of his country engaged his benevolent attention, and a solicitude to promote her political prosperity, employed the reflections of his patriotic mind.

Addressing to the Executives of the several States an affectionate farewell, he unfolded to their view the matured lessons of experience, in a system of advice, eminently calculated to advance the happiness of their constituents---and worthy to be transmitted, in indelible characters, to distant posterity.

Thus was the splendid structure of his military character completed---and thus was reared, to the glory of confederated America, an ever enduring monument of the purest patriotism, and the most important public services.

The rights of his country maintained---her independence acknowledged---the complaints of his meritorious, suffering army appeased---and his high trust, in all its relations, sacredly fulfilled, he appeared before the great Council of the Nation, to claim the indulgence of retirement, and to resign the authority, with which he had been invested.

A more august scene has never been displayed. The triumph of virtue and freedom was complete. He retired, amid the blessings and applause of grateful millions, to the shade of private life, and to the enjoyment

of that domestic felicity, from which, during eight years of anxiety, toil and danger, he had been detained by an abstracted devotion to public duty.

However desirous to call your attention to the useful, the virtuous, and exemplary tenor of his private life; yet the rapid succession of public events, which scarcely permitted him to repose from the toils of war, obliges me to refer this interesting topic to a subsequent part of the discourse.

The voice of his country, to which he was ever obedient, was again raised to call him from his tranquil and happy retirement.

That frame of government, which, in a period of danger, and under the pressure of foreign hostility, had been sufficient to consolidate the interests, and to educe the resources of the United States, was found incompetent, in the relaxation of peace and fancied security, to control those objects of national concern, which were essential to the safety and happiness of the American people.

The fair prospect of our rising empire was obscured. The failure of our national engagements---the dissolution of our Union---the consequent evils of rivalry, and the eventual horrors of war, were all impending.

The crisis was alarming beyond expression, and required an immediate interposition of the most patriotic exertions to avert the threatened calamities.

In the delegated wisdom and patriotism of the several States, the sage and virtuous WASHINGTON was again distinguished, and again pre-eminent.

Elected, by an unanimous suffrage, to preside over those deliberations, on which the fate of a mighty nation, and the felicity of millions were suspended, the dignity of his character, and the influence of his example, gave to the discussion of different interests a spirit of conciliation, which resulted in the noblest concessions---and an impression of national deference, in which subordinate considerations were merged and extinguished.

Yes, my fellow-citizens, to his accurate perception of our several interests---to his just construction of what was required to reconcile them, no less than to his skill and valour in the day of battle, are we indebted for a large portion of our national harmony and social happiness.

It is not in language to appreciate, with just estimation, the advantages which, on this emergency, were derived to his country from the mild dignity of his manner, and the harmonizing character of his deportment.

In them was personified that accommodation, which the crisis demanded, and which the great instrument of our national safety most happily proclaims in all its provisions.

On the adoption of this auspicious substitute to our imperfect confederation---when the voice of United America was to designate the most deserving citizen, to administer the important duties of the executive department, the choice was conformed to the gratitude of the nation, and to the high desert of her most beloved and most respected patriot.

The illustrious WASHINGTON was again the object of undivided esteem, and the depositary of the public confidence.

To him, as to an unerring guide, were committed the difficult and delicate arrangements of a new-formed government, co-extensive with the limits, and embracing the various interests of "our wide-spreading empire."

Renouncing the pleasures and the elegancies of his chosen retreat, he consented to embark the rich treasure of his fame on an untried element; and, solely actuated by the will of his country, he resigned to her wishes the evening of that life, whose morn and meridian had been devoted to her service.

To trace the merits of his civil administration---to remark the judgment and impartiality, with which its most delicate duties were discharged---to observe the

unwearied investigation, on which his judicious selection to office was grounded---to review those opinions, which were submitted, for co-operation, to the other branches of government---to notice the scrupulous delicacy with which he abstained from encroachment on the province of their authority---while he maintained, with undeviating firmness, the powers which the Constitution had exclusively assigned to the executive organ, would far exceed the limits of an eulogium.

They are classed in the highest order of precedents, and are most usefully referred to the historical amplification of his instructive life.

The immediate effects of so much virtue, wisdom and exertion, were obvious to the most superficial observer.

Under the auspices of that government, which the weight of his opinions had so largely contributed to frame and to establish, and under the happy influence of such an administration of its provisions, the prosperity of our country was advanced beyond the most sanguine expectations of patriotism.

Hope and happiness were substituted to gloom and misfortune; and national respect succeeded to national degradation.

The labour of the husbandman, the industry of the mechanic, the enterprize of the merchant, were all protected and rewarded.

The surplus products of our soil were exchanged in profitable barter; the busy hum of men was again heard in our deserted harbours, and the canvas of our commerce was spread to every gale.

The restoration of public credit gave confidence to private transaction; and the strict dispensation of justice silenced the last murmur of complaint.

It was no less honourable to the people of the United States, than to their illustrious benefactor, that the acknowledgment of his transcendent merits was the delightful theme of every class and condition.

Infancy was taught to lisp his praise; youth and

manhood poured forth the effusions of their gratitude, and the blessings of age were expressed with the fervour of feeling, and the solemnity of religion.

States and individuals were emulous to confess his worth; he was the boast of our nation among strangers, and an object of veneration to every people.

In this happy conjunction of our affairs, the torch of war was lighted in Europe, and threatened to extend its flame to this favoured portion of the globe.

To that guardian care, whose unceasing vigilance watched over us---to the Hero, whose protecting arm, in the hour of *inevitable* conflict, had borne aloft the conquering banner of our country, were we indebted for the preservation of peace, and an exemption from the distress and danger of foreign war.

Proclaiming to the people of the United States, and to the belligerent powers, the determination of our government to maintain an impartial neutrality, he continued, by an undeviating course of honourable policy, to insure to his country the blessings of peace, and the benefits of the most advantageous position.

During the desolation of war, her commerce was extended, and her redundant harvests administered to the wants of less favoured nations.

On the revolution of his official term of service, an opportunity was afforded to express the public sense of his administration; and it was manifested in the most singular demonstration of gratitude and applause, that has ever been bestowed.

Having nominated, in the first instance, to all the offices of the general government; and having unavoidably disappointed the wishes of numerous expectants,---yet, such had been the propriety of his appointments, and such the purity of his conduct, that, on the second election of chief magistrate, there was not found, among several millions of people, a single dissent from the choice of this immaculate man.

He was unanimously re-elected to preside over their political concerns, and to continue the blessings of his administration.

Among the multiplied advantages of that administration, the philanthropist will review, with peculiar pleasure, an invariable attention to conciliate the aboriginal inhabitants of our country, and an unremitting endeavour to ameliorate their hapless condition.

Regarding the interests of this unfortunate race as sacred, and viewing a compliance with their claims to protection, as among the first duties of the government, his beneficent patronage was extended to every object which might promote their welfare, or prevent the evils incident to their situation.

To the injunctions of public negociation, he united the admonitions of personal sensibility, and the most benevolent concern for this unhappy people.

The astonished savage beheld, in the far-famed Chief of an hostile nation, the protector of his tribe, and the zealous friend of their happiness. His doubts of safety were changed to admiring confidence; and the vindictive spirit of revenge was lost in a grateful sense of unexpected favour and kindness.

Having obtained, by treaty, a surrender of the military posts on our western frontier, he was enabled, in a great measure, to carry into effect the magnanimous policy, which he had instituted towards the Indian tribes; and to extend, at the same time, to the white inhabitants in that quarter of the Union, the security of peace, and the benefits of a friendly intercourse with their immediate neighbours.

While intent on the completion of a general pacific system, in relation to the affairs of the United States, he was not insensible to the mutable policy of nations, nor inattentive to the necessary measures of military defence.

He believed it essential to the safety of our extensive commerce, and to the dignity of our national character, to enter on the formation of a naval establishment, which he considered as the best, and the natural defence of the United States.

The sanction of his opinion was accordingly given to this important measure.

In reviewing the principal features of his public character, and their beneficial results, we are led no less to applaud the benevolence, than to admire the discernment, of his philanthropic and capacious mind.

With native and acquired propensities to military glory---with every incentive to the exercise of arms, which consummate skill in war, or the hope of distinction could supply---peace was the ruling principle of his conduct, and the tranquil prosperity of his country was the dearest object of his ambition.

In the grateful belief that his anxious wish was accomplished, he intimated his intention to decline the honours of his high station, and to withdraw from all public employment.

To this intimation, conveyed in an address to the people of the United States, was subjoined a series of opinions, on the subject of their public concerns, the legacy of an affectionate father to a beloved family, containing the most instructive, interesting, and important advice that has ever been submitted to any nation.

An observance of those maxims would insure our political welfare, and promote our social happiness---they are no less calculated to improve the heart than to inform the judgment---they should be committed to the memory of the young, and the meditation of the old---they are invaluable to the present generation---and they will be regarded by succeeding ages, as the best and highest eulogium of this transcendent character.

Yielding to his desire of repose, his grateful countrymen invoked the blessing of Heaven on the close of his illustrious life, and acquiesced in his intention to retire.

Behold him returned to the station of a private citizen, enforcing, by a correct example, those rules of conduct, which, with modest diffidence, he had offered to the consideration of his country.

Divested of every distinction, and without a personal attendant, he mingled in the throng of citizens, and was the first to express the homage of his esteem, which was respectful, affectionate, and sincere, at the inauguration of his successor; to whom, no less than to the memory of the illustrious dead, it is due to remark that, in their personal intercourse, and in all their official relations, the most cordial friendship and beneficial harmony had uniformly subsisted.

To attest the perfection of public principle, it will be forever remembered that the distinguished Patriot, who had so long, and so ably, presided in the concerns of the nation, consented to accept a secondary commission, at a period of life, when no consideration but the safety of his country, and complete confidence in the measures of her government, could have required, or prompted the service of the venerable Chief.

The sentiments of his judicious and comprehensive mind, as expressed in his own words, on this important occasion, are too honourable to his memory, too just in their application to his successor, and too interesting to our country, in their relation to future events, not to be here recited.

“No one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration; they ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

“Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can, with pure hearts, appeal to Heaven, for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, who has, heretofore, and so often, signally favoured the people of these United States.

“Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and ef-

pecially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States.”*

Such was the triumph of patriotism, and such the dignified completion of his public character.

With the accomplishments of the hero, and the attributes of the statesman, we are now to connect the interesting theme of domestic life, and the useful virtues of his private character.

Favoured of Heaven, he was blest in the most endeared relation of human society.

The amiable, and much respected partner of his happiness, enjoyed his affection and esteem, and was worthy to participate the honours of his exalted station.

The practice of his filial piety, which had been distinguished at an early age, was continued until the death of his surviving parent, with unabated tenderness and respect.

His fraternal love was exemplary, as it was sincere; and the munificent provisions of his will, attest the affection, which he bore to his kindred, and the relatives of his family.

Nor was this munificence bounded by the limits of consanguinity—The interests of freedom and science were anxiously consulted, and most generously advanced.

Age and infirmity were the objects of his kind regard-----

And the instruction of youth was connected with the emancipation of the bondsman, as a mean of protecting his rights, and rendering him safe, and useful to society.

The friend, and the stranger were received with cordial welcome at his hospitable mansion—and his beneficence to his neighbours was returned with the most affectionate attachment.

* General WASHINGTON's letter, dated Mount Vernon, 13th July, 1798, to John Adams, President of the United States.

Combining with a general patronage of science, and useful institutions, a particular attention to the improvements of agriculture, he diffused his observation and experience, in this important pursuit, wherever they could be beneficial—extending his correspondence, on this interesting subject, to other nations.

Such were the outlines of his domestic life---and such were his private avocations.

Unable, on a careful review of eminent characters, to discover an opposite resemblance to the constellation of his virtues and talents, I forbear to enter on partial comparisons, which could not dignify, and would but imperfectly illustrate the hero of our country.

Enriched by nature with her choicest gifts, she had, with equal liberality, bestowed upon him the greatest advantages of external form, and the highest degree of intellectual endowment. To the noble port of a lofty stature, were united uncommon grace, strength, and symmetry of person; and, to the commanding aspect of manly beauty, was given the benignant smile, which, inspiring confidence, created affection.

In being thus minute, I do not mean to arraign your delighted remembrance of the hero, which the short lapse of a fleeting year has not effaced.

Yet were mine the powers of description to produce a perfect image, I would present him to your enraptured imagination—as he was seen in battle, calm and collected—as he appeared in council, dignified and serene—as he adorned society, gracious and condescending.

But, O mournful reflection! that pleasing, that venerable form now moulders into dust. Sealed in death are those eyes, which watched over our safety. Closed forever are those lips, which spake peace and happiness to our country.

Yet the dark night of the tomb shall not obscure the lustre of his fame; and, when brass and marble shall have fallen to decay, the sweet remembrance of his virtues, passing in proud transmission to remotest ages, shall endure forever.

Eulogy

ON THE ILLUSTRIOUS GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at *MILTON*, 22d February, 1800.

BY CHARLES PINCKNEY SUMNER.

INDUSTRY pauses from her once cheering labours—the solemn dirge takes place of the song of mirth ;—our country is in tears, her WASHINGTON is no more !

This day she would fondly have numbered *sixty-eight* years, since propitious Heaven, regardful of her coming trials, had given him to her aid ; proud that he had fulfilled his high destination, and still continued her faithful defender, she would not have turned a melancholy thought to the perils through which he had conducted her. The lively cannon would have been but the faint echo to her joy ; the festal board, the sparkling glass and pleasure-beaming eye would have been but the feeble emblem of national hilarity. Henceforth the night of his death will be consecrated to sorrow, and shrouded in gloom congenial with the majesty of her grief. The annual return of this once joyful day, will long be sacred to her most tender, loved sensations, and the smile her countenance may learn to resume, will receive a melting charm from the tear she cannot suppress.

When fame, with swollen eye, first announced our public calamity ; we looked, we heard with a responsive sigh ; and because she trembled while she spoke, we permitted ourselves the hope that report might prove illusive. But this uncertainty, this painful uncertainty, was too dear to endure ; the solemn knell, the deepening universal aspect of woe soon placed beyond the reach of hope, what our boding hearts feared but too true.

Here is a subject, my friends, on which you all can be eloquent ; it becomes the sacred place devoted to its contemplation ; it excites the best, and none but the best feelings of Americans : as they prize their country, they cherish the memory of her hero, and love at a respectful, admiring distance, to follow him through the vicissitudes of her fate.

With a mind expanded by the most liberal pursuits, a heart enamoured with the charms of honour, devotion to his country was his first, his ruling passion. From an early military career, he retired with a blooming reputation to the best well-earned enjoyment of life. With easy dignity he loses the soldier in the citizen, and graces the arts of peace as well as war. Born for the universe, a province is too small a theatre for the display of his talents ; and the situation of our country soon opened the mightier field of his destiny.

With conscious pride he gloried in the prosperity of his king and country ; but for colonial degradation and subserviency he had not drawn his ready, his victorious sword. American patience had been put to the intolerable test ; the plain of Lexington had drank the blood of its peaceful cultivators ; when from that illustrious band of patriots, where first concentrated the wounded sensibilities of our country—is WASHINGTON commissioned to marshal and direct the rising energies of freedom.

It is a needless, as it would be a painful task, to dwell on facts all know too well ; or to resuscitate the feelings that are better at rest. Suffice it to remind you, that yonder hills, almost in sight, first received the American hero to the toils of fame. Retaining still the vestiges of war, they will lecture succeeding generations, and teach them to guard their native soil from every insidious, selfish friend, or haughty foe : their wounded fronts will frown on degeneracy, if every hill in America does not rise, like the *Heights of Dorchester*, to expel invasion from our indignant shores.

In the presence of WASHINGTON, resistance assumed a formidable attitude, confidence looked cheerful, and valour renerved the arm still bleeding from the carnage where WARREN fell. But the too transient duration of patriotic fervour,—the genius of our valiant thousands too unfriendly to the restraints of discipline,—the poverty and unpreparedness of the Colonies to meet the incalculable extent of their object, created anxieties and embarrassments which very few were permitted to share ; which no one perhaps who does not, like him, combine in his character the talents and the feelings of the statesman, the patriot and soldier, can duly appreciate.

The hero's mind rose with the magnitude of his task. Opposition and defeat itself served only to confirm his resolution, and call forth the resources of an exhaustless mind.—*Independence was declared* : and in the blackest hours of disaster, WASHINGTON never despaired of his country.

Once only (forgive him, freemen) ere his army had become inured to the well directed volleys of discipline, the yielding ranks of his retreating soldiery displayed the frightful impressions of a veteran enemy ;—for one painful moment he thought all was lost ;—that Americans were unworthy the freedom, for which they too feebly contended ; and shocked to desperation, wished by a fortunate, honourable death to free himself from the intolerable spectacle of his country enslaved.

When terror spread her darkest clouds over our land ; when an unfed, unclothed army marked the ice and the snow with the blood of their retreating footsteps ; when the sword of destruction seemed suspended only by a hair ; while rumour with her hundred mouths, if possible, magnified our distresses ; and tortured, languishing hope almost breathed her last ;—the brilliant achievement at Princeton turned aside the current of fate ; the accomplished, too sanguine Burgoyne is overwhelmed in the rising tide of our fortune ; the close invested standards of York-Town droop

submission to the allied arms ; deluded despotism soon gave up the fruitless toils of subjugation ; the shattered remnants of baffled invasion are withdrawn, and independence is confirmed.

The patriot army now felt the too scanty, delusive recompense for their heroic toils ;—seven years with joyful obedience had they heard the orders of their Chief thunder along the embattled line : the wounds of injured bravery bled afresh ; they recoiled at the idea of dissolution. Then might ambition have seen his time, and smiled ; then would have trembled the liberties of America, had WASHINGTON aspired to any other crown than her happiness. In language ardent as his heroism, tender as his affection, he appeals to their untarnished honour ; they revere him as a father :—the appeal was resistless. They saw the conflicting emotions of his breast ; those eyes, which had long witnessed their toils, which had often smiled at their glory, and wept at their sufferings, with keen anxiety now pierced their souls ; they forget themselves :—a pearly tear steals down every cheek ; the latent evil spark is quenched ; their patriotism rekindles ; with one heart and voice they resolve to confide in the justice of the country they had left all to serve, and give the world the illustrious, rare example of “ an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itself.”

His farewell interview with these his dear-loved companions can now be faintly imagined : How he stood, how he looked, when each advanced to take the last friendly, impassioned embrace ; when with a glass in his hand, and tears glistening in his eyes, he wished to each his future life might be happy, as his past had been honourable ;—let those speak who have witnessed, let those attempt to describe who feel themselves equal to the melting scene.

The war-worn veteran, whose feelings have not rusted with his sword, will relate the story to his listening son ;—smile to see his warm heart susceptible to the touch of glory—and fondly destine him for that pro-

feffion, of which no dalliance in the lap of ease has obliterated the charms, no reverse of fortune allayed his admiration.

Americans, what a vast weight of your revolution did this mighty man sustain! Taxes were indeed great, were burdensome; but think how often your army was obliged to evade a decisive blow; think of the complicated hardships they endured (the relation of which might make you shudder)—because the flame of public spirit too soon died away, and the resources of the country had become inaccessible. What must WASHINGTON have often felt! Every eye in America, in wondering, doubtful Europe, was fixt on him. He was a man of humanity; not a sentinel felt a grievance he did not painfully commiserate. He was a man of consummate bravery; and, to add to the full measure of his calamity, the country, whose fate was hourly in his hand, began to murmur, to reproach him with delay. Delicate situation! unconquerable greatness of soul! His reputation, dearer to a soldier than life, he sacrificed to your good.

Americans, the hostile cannon has ceased to shake your houses and your hills; the falling shell no more with horrid glare swells the terrors of the night;—think one moment in peace of the untold distresses that might, that would have been your portion, had not your toils for freedom been crowned with success. The Rubicon was passed; the hour of compromise elapsed. WASHINGTON! the heart recoils at his fate, and resigns it to your own imaginations. As for you—you might have received his Majesty's most gracious pardon—might have reposed in the tranquil despair of subjugated India—or been blest with the liberty, under which distracted, bleeding Ireland now groans; Cornwallis might here, instead of there, have been governing the provinces his myrmidons had ravaged; which his presumptuous imagination had fondly marked out as an empire for himself! Happy countrymen! retire to your homes, however humble; enjoy your peace,

your competence and your love!—kiss the children that throng around your knee, and teach them to bless God, that they are not born to the inheritance of slavery, nor doomed to the horrors of mutual destruction!

Surrendering his commission, and bidding adieu to public life, WASHINGTON, amid the gratulations of thousands, through ways strewn with flowers, retired to those peaceful shades, of which long absence and mighty cares had heightened the enjoyment.

He retired; but he did not retire within himself. His mind was intent to bless his fellow-men. Unprotected worth found in him a warm patron and friend: Poverty repressed her sigh, forgot injustice, and smiled complacent on the bounty of his soul. The public welfare was still the darling object of his heart, and whatever could promote it, it was his chief happiness to pursue.

The picture which our common country presented on the attainment of peace is fresh in every mind. Her victory had secured her freedom, but such a freedom as secured too few of the blessings of social life, and threatened to be of short duration. The States breathed hard from their struggle, and exhausted with the burden and heat of the revolutionary day, were divesting themselves of the bands of a too feeble confederation; and fast dissolving into imbecility and disgrace. Faith was worn out; credit had been sworn till it had burst; Justice, not only blind, but deaf and dumb, with scales reversed and blunted sword, could neither help her votaries, nor protect herself; the defenders of their country almost addressed themselves to her compassion; the poor soldier begged his bread through the land he had saved; and the fair, but trembling fabric of society almost threatened ruin to those it scarcely sheltered.

The prescient *Sage of Mount-Vernon* had foreseen these approaching evils; and early recommended to the several States the adoption of such general mea-

ures as could alone give permanence to the national felicity, that independence put within their reach.

The body politic still survived healthful and strong in the feelings, manners and principles, which immemorial virtuous habit had incorporated into her nature. The hectic of internal faction had scarcely enfeebled her vitals, nor had foreign intrigue assumed the hardihood to seduce her from herself, and tear her limb from limb.

At length, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty;" the Federal Constitution of the United States, the result of his presiding wisdom, was adopted, as it was formed in "a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable." God grant that in this spirit it be long preserved, that so it may preserve those for whose boon it is designed!

At the unanimous call of his fellow-citizens, which he could never hear but with duty and respect, he relinquishes every private consideration to make a people happy. Laborious days and sleepless nights are now his welcome portion: The Government of your choice commences its auspicious operation, and WASHINGTON presides. Say, did not then every countenance look contentment; every dwelling speak prosperity, and your fields assume a more luxuriant smile? Commerce, then safe in her innocence, spread your rising name to the borders of the earth, and wafted you the productions of every clime. You rapidly grew, the envy of the world; were acknowledged happiest, as freest, of mankind, and disappointed the doating wish of those, who seek with eagle eye, in the miscarriage of republics, a pretext for the enormities of despotism.

Americans, this is a trait of the enchanting picture which Europe admired, confessed was yours, and kindled into freedom, while she viewed. Will you disclaim it? does too close inspection and intimacy with

the original destroy its truth? is it too highly coloured? —Alas, WASHINGTON was not omnipotent! Earth is not a paradise!

For eight years he conducted the bark of state; the political sky was tempestuous, the winds and the waves were sometimes unhappily in adverse directions; her path was untraversed, and various minds prevailing with regard to her course; many seemed more disposed to counsel the pilot than obey his orders. Strict justice was the compass by which he steered; he respected the wishes of all, and never went counter to the advice of those whom it was his duty to consult; amid innumerable difficulties the way of safety was that of glory. Sedulously regarding the interests of all, he relied with just confidence on the attachment of an omnipotent majority. With the conscious invulnerability of virtue, he pardoned the harmless, expected aspersions of the unworthy; and pursued the firm resolve of his unbiassed equal mind. The arduous difficulties of republican elevation were at length appreciated; and all acquiesced in his decree. Having navigated her through the dangers of her outset, accustomed her powers to the gale; and done all that human wisdom and integrity could effect, if not all that extravagance could wish; he gave affectionate farewell advice to those on board, well calculated to make them wise to salvation; and resigning the helm to able, faithful, experienced hands, sought the tranquil privacy which a far spent glorious life had rendered "as necessary as welcome."

But his feelings were too keen for his happiness. Our rich, unprotected commerce on all sides falling a devoted prey; our country meeting the indignity abroad, which her upright, pacific policy had not deserved, and compelled to assume a defensive posture; her WASHINGTON is still himself. Though mighty cares had impaired his strength, the venerable sage with ready hand resumes his faithful sword—that sword, whose unflinching justice did "blind men with its beams,"—and like that of Eden flame every way to guard invaded night.

—America was in array ; for who would not throng the standard he would raise—who would not crowd the ranks of war in the cause for which WASHINGTON would contend ?

Here was the last stage of his long career of renown. The pride of his country, the wonder of mankind has, like a foldier, obeyed the high fummons of the God of armies. His associates in the toils of glory were hourly falling. He stood almost alone on the field of fame, and was prepared for the expected stroke of fate. The calm fortitude and presence of mind, with which he had often stood the shock of battle, did not forsake him in his last unequalled triumphant conflict.

The worthy disconsolate partner of his heart, we thank for the life-long smile with which she smoothed his brow ; and gave his magnanimous cares to the service of his country. We wish her every consolation earth or heaven can bestow. May the decline of her life's mild day be gilded with the calm sunshine of the soul, and future generations rise up and call her blessed ! His fellow-labourers in war and peace, we thank for the persevering fortitude and wisdom with which they aided our beloved Chief ; they have claims on us which we cannot cancel, but with glory,—which grateful, admiring posterity will be too proud to evade. These he loved ; to these we resign, with painful sympathy, the sad pre-eminence of grief. But, my fellow-countrymen, we were all near and dear to him,—and his memory shall endure—shall be revered forever.

Bright must be the talents that presume to illustrate one action of his life. The unanimity with which he was twice elected President ; the universal, deep-felt regret, when he declined their future suffrages ; the constant devotedness to his fellow-citizens, which no period of his life ceased to manifest ; and the deep aspect of sorrow this day presents ;—these all designate the man who, most pre-eminently, united all hearts ; they speak his only adequate, exalted eulogy, and declare in language unequivocally loud, a nation's una-

bated confidence and love. To praise him in any audience the world could produce, would be a dull display of arrogance; with Americans it would be intolerable; for who does not love his country, and revere her best earthly benefactor? who cannot see the sun in the firmament? who cannot hear the thunder of the sky? The taper only deadens itself that presumes to increase the splendour of noon day.

What is the noble endowment he did not possess? With an urbanity, that treated with the most obliging respect those from whose opinion he could not but dissent; and with a prudence that in any other character might well have compensated the greatest moral deficiency, he marshalled the phalanx of his virtues to the benefit of his fellow men. The spirit of republicanism almost resigned to him the sceptre of your affections; he ruled in your hearts. Our history is scarcely more than his biography, our freedom and happiness the noblest, we trust unfading picture of his services and virtues.

What was once WASHINGTON has been deposited with every testimonial of gratitude our country can bestow: On this occasion only does she lament her republican simplicity, unequal to her pomp of war; but she consoles herself, that wherein her magnificence has been deficient, her affection has been transcendent; and that her hero has departed with a lustre that kings may sigh for, but sigh in vain.

The Sun of Glory is set; the hemisphere is darkened; smaller luminaries may now rise and shine: The Sun of Glory is set; but his course is bright with extinguishable beams. He has thrown light on most beclouded regions, and taught mankind the dignity of man. Illustrious nation, over whom he has shone, to whose temperament his mild radiance was congenial;—happy those, who, in other climes attempting to move in his orbit, neither consume themselves nor their country in the flame they raise, but cannot control. Thrice blest mankind, where liberty can wear a tearless smile, and virtue trust her constant friends.

The shades of Vernon, to remotest time, will be trod with awe; the banks of Potowmac will be hallowed ground. The aged oak shall sigh plaintive in the breeze. The little skiff shall suspend the labouring oar, and in soft melancholy twilight, glide in silence by the sacred spot, where drooping willows mark the sage's tomb. The alert seaman, while his well trimmed bark moves majestic on the moaning wave, shall, with proud respect, strike the top-sail he has reared in every quarter of the globe.

In some far, distant commercial port, our fellow-countrymen hail this day with joy. The flags of all nations lightly wave from a forest of masts; all is gaiety. Around the bounteous board they wish health and long life to him, whose name on their sea-letter has served them instead of cannon, insuring them respect wherever they displayed the American stars. Some neighbouring fortresses shakes the friendly coast with its responsive roar; the sons of Columbia cast a long look of filial respect to their native land, and unconscious of the mournful spectacle she now presents,—rejoice that her defender lives!—Good souls! let them enjoy the passing hour of mirth, “where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.”

Illustrious man! in what region of the earth has not thy name been heard with praise? Posterity shall admire and love thee:—And if, in the vast orb of thy glory, our darkened optics can descry a spot, we trust it will, like those of the sun, be soon absorbed in thy pure effulgence. The temporary clouds, which, for thy country, thou hast permitted to obscure thy deeds, time will soon dispel, and thy fame will brighten with the flight of years.

AMERICANS,

FOR a life devoted to your service, what does WASHINGTON deserve? The rising trophied column shall from far attract the admiring eye. The enduring statue with emulative care will present to revering

posterity his august attitude and awful form. History shall be immortal as just to his worth. Poesy shall robe him in unborrowed charms. A city, after the majestic model of his mind, bearing his name, shall concentrate our national glory, as he does our affection. These a grateful empire will voluntarily pay : but, he deserves more ; he deserves the only reward he would ever accept ; he deserves that you be faithful to yourselves, that you be free, united and happy : that party asperity from this memorable day subside ; and all with liberal eye seek private interest in the common weal.

Thus shall your elective government, the true mirror of the general will, present an image that can never be disowned, and millions rise a standing army in support of the constitution and laws by which they are blest. Insurrection from the quiet sleep of death will not rear her devoted head ; invasion never dream of your shores, or be appalled at the view. Peace at home will insure invincibility abroad. You shall fear no shock but that of the universe. The old worthies, who with WASHINGTON illumed and cherished the tempered, undying flame of freedom, shall never shake their white locks, and sigh that their labours have been in vain. Your union shall subsist to everlasting generations, the best, the deserved *MONUMENT* to his fame, who led the army that achieved your independence ; who presided in the councils that commenced your endless career of happiness.

A Funeral Oration

ON GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Pronounced at OXFORD, *Massachusetts*, at the Request of the Field Officers of the Brigade, stationed at that Place, on the 15th Jan. 1800.

BY JOSIAH DUNHAM, A. M.

Capt. 16th U. S. Regiment.

AMERICANS !

THE Sun of our glory has set forever ;
——WASHINGTON IS NO MORE ! !——The pride of
Columbia has fallen ! He that was mighty among the
valiant has failed ! The glory has departed from Israel ;
and the tents of Cushan are in affliction !

Afflicting and painful indeed must be that event,
which has clad five millions of people in mourning,
and filled a nation with tears : an event, which has, at
once, bid the pipe and the tabor to cease in our land ;
which has turned our joys into sorrow, and our mirth
into heaviness : an event, which robbed America of her
boast, Humanity of her pride, and has electrified the
World with astonishment and grief. And, is it not
singular, nay, is it not beyond all parallel, that this in-
teresting, this extraordinary event is no more than *the*
death of ONE MAN ?

“ O, what a fall was there my countrymen !

“ We ne’er shall look upon his like again.”

When I contemplate the solemnity of the occasion
which has brought us together, struck with a pious awe
and veneration for the illustrious Character, whose
manes we are about to entomb, I shrink from the holy
theme, and would fain evade the task this day assigned
me. Emboldened, however, by a sense of duty, I will
humbly pursue, with others, the delightful, yet beaten
track, where, though novelty will not surprise, yet nei-
ther praise can surfeit, nor eulogy be exhausted. Par-

don me, venerable shade ! if, with unequal step, and unhallowed feet, I tread the sacred ground.

To attempt a complete portrait of this great man, would be in vain. It is a task reserved for the genius of future ages : a task, which will engross the talents of the poet, the painter, the biographer, and historian, when the names of George, of Lewis, of Frederick, and of Paul, would have been long since forgotten, had they not have vegetated on a throne, in the same era in which WASHINGTON lived.

To enumerate all those exploits, which have stamped his character and immortalized his memory, would be to narrate every incident of his life, from the cradle to the tomb—to swell volume upon volume, till “the world itself could not contain the books which should be written.” They exhibit one uniform scene of goodness, greatness, and sublimity—one bright galaxy of glory, which, in a comparative view, darkens and eclipses the brightest perfections of all who have gone before him.

It was WASHINGTON, who reared our infant country from a state of childhood and weakness, to that of manhood and strength ; from a state of bondage and oppression, to that of freedom and independence ; from a state of anarchy, war, and misery, to that of order, peace and happiness. It was WASHINGTON, who confirmed to us the possession of this American Canaan ; who, through a wilderness of dangers, and a Red Sea of blood, stood, under GOD, OUR SHELTERING CLOUD BY DAY, AND OUR PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT. He it was, who seated us beneath the shadow of the peaceful olive ; who converted our “swords into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks ;” who gave us to eat of the trees of light and liberty, in this our political paradise. Like yon bright orb of day, when not a cloud obscures the vast horizon around, he has risen and shone with genial splendour and unborrowed majesty ; while kings, potentates, and princes, have shrunk abashed from his presence, and, like the twinkling stars of night, hid their diminished heads.

At the commencement of our revolution, when the dark storm was gathering and bursting upon us ; when the iron tempest of war was already howling in our ears ; when the galling chains of slavery were riveting on our heels ; when not a gleam of light nor a ray of hope could be discerned through the impenetrable gloom that enveloped our country ; when despair was our secret companion, and the sons of little men were afraid ; then it was, that the same star which once stood over Bethlehem, and guided the wise men of the East to the place of our SAVIOUR's birth, now stood over Mount Vernon, and conducted the wise men of the West to the abode of our political saviour.

Compare WASHINGTON (if their characters will admit of comparison) with the heroes, the patriots, the sages, the legislators of antiquity. View him in all his important relations to himself, to his country, and to his God. Do we not find him as much their superior, as the golden sun is superior to the swift meteor of night, or to the dim lustre of the rayless mock-sun in the circumambient cloud ?

As a hero, compare him with Cromwell, with Cesar, with Alexander. Alas ! where is their greatness ? what were their virtues ?—Curse on such virtues—they have undone their country ! Cromwell, with sacrilegious zeal, destroyed a throne to enthrone himself. Cesar, with electric rapidity, subdued nations ; but “Cesar was ambitious”—he enslaved an empire ! Alexander, meanly brave, and wretchedly victorious, wantonly overran the world, laid waste the fairest portion of humanity, and, with indiscriminating madness and fury, cried, “Havoc ! and let slip the dogs of war” among the noblest works of God !

WASHINGTON fought—not to conquer, but to defend ; not to ruin the foe, but to protect his people ; not to enslave a country, but to free, to bless, and to build up a nation—to establish it on the broad basis of equal rights, under the enjoyment of liberty, and under the protection of law.

At the birth of our independence, in the days which tried men's souls, when every hand was weak, and every heart faint, who, like WASHINGTON, could have united all hearts, and strengthened all hands? Who, like him, could have risen superior to all the trials, perplexities, and dangers, which, like a dark cloud, hovered over us, and threatened our political existence? Who else could have combined the varying interests, reconciled diverse opinions, and soothed the discordant passions, with which our infant country was torn, paralysed, and convulsed? Who, but WASHINGTON, could have stepped forward, with prudence, fortitude and zeal, to command, as well the affections as the confidence of trembling millions? Who, like him, without the weaknesses, which depreciate, or the vices, which disgrace human nature, could have displayed all the virtues, and all the talents, which ennoble man, or adorn the hero? Who, but WASHINGTON, amidst the contending elements of our revolution, with modest dignity, and unbaffled skill, could have "rode upon the whirlwind and directed the storm?" Always calm and serene, always firm and inflexible, always prompt and decided—in short, always himself, he has been found prepared for every event, and adequate to every trust.

It was his persevering prudence, his cautious circumspection, his unparalleled moderation, which, in our revolutionary war, out-generated British skill, and eventually turned the scale, which long had poised dubious. Gradually weakening and wearing out the enemy, while his own army was disciplining, and his own resources increasing, at length,

"He gain'd, like FABIVS, by delay."

Though intrepid as Hannibal, and fortunate as Cesar, yet mildness and humanity were prominent traits in his character. He never pierced a fallen foe!

After eight years' faithful and gratuitous service, at the head of our victorious armies, he cheerfully sacrificed, upon the altar of his grateful country, the mighty harvest of laurels he had won, and great, like Cincin-

natus, returned to the plough—to the exercise of his domestic virtues, and, the ever favourite object of his heart, the cultivation of the soft arts of peace. Wonderful man!—Here was a sight the gods beheld with pleasure! Like the hero of Ossian, he was terrible in the battles of his steel. His sword was like lightning in the field; his voice like thunder on the distant hills. Many fell by his arm; they were consumed in the flames of his wrath! But when he returned from the war, how peaceful was his brow! His face was like the sun after rain; like the moon in the silence of the night; calm as the breast of the lake, when the loud wind is laid!

Once more called from his philosophic retreat, in the shades of Mount Vernon, by the unanimous voice of his country, to the administration of a government, in the formation of whose Constitution he was himself an important agent, who will pretend to say, that his virtues or his talents shone less conspicuously in the cabinet, than in the field? Unversed in the policy and intrigues of courts, untaught in the theoretical speculations of fire-side philosophers, and unacquainted with the metaphysical jargon of school-bred politicians, he possessed a thorough, and an intuitive knowledge of the human heart. Superior to Solon or Lycurgus, he was that self-taught sage, that heaven-inspired patriot and legislator, who clearly comprehended all the springs and all the motives of human nature and human actions. He understood, not only those principles, which constitute the interests, the relations, and the dependencies, mutually subsisting between man and man; but his ideas were as extended as the vast empire of Reason; so that a knowledge of the relative interests of his country, with regard to foreign nations, and of the measures, which would most effectually promote and secure them, were perfectly familiar to his capacious mind. Suffice it to say, that from these interests, during an eight years' presidency, in a period as eventful and dangerous as war itself, he was never once known

to swerve. When these appeared permanently secured, after having bequeathed us the rich legacy of his last counsel, and having resigned the helm of government to a successor, worthy of himself, he again retired, laden with the benedictions of his country, to the bosom of his family—to his native walks, and tranquil shades:—fondly hoping to devote the evening of his days, and the last glimmerings of life's feeble lamp, to the enjoyment of his friends, and the service of his God.

Would to Heaven it had been thus!—But, alas! the neutral rights of our country are invaded, our commerce is plundered, our citizens insulted, and our government abused; and again behold the hero clad in arms! His sword is drawn, his bow is bent, and he once more stands, though in a subordinate sphere, the pride, the strength, the bulwark of his country! Venerable hero! such hast thou been.

In the private character of WASHINGTON, we find the delight, the ornament, the wonder of man! Prompt at every call of duty, in whatever sphere or station, he exhibits a uniform pattern of morality, industry and economy. Feelingly alive to all the tender charities of our nature, he always clothed the naked, and filled the hungry with good things. He soothed affliction, commiserated misfortune, raised up the bowed down, dissipated the dark clouds of the disconsolate, or gilded their gloom with the calm sunshine of peace. Venerable old man! such were thy perfections, that “the tongue of slander never dared to impeach the purity of thy conduct; nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of thy virtues.” And such was the gratitude and affections of thy countrymen, that not a sigh nor a prayer, from their bosoms, escaped to Heaven, but what was “winged with benisons” for thee!

Great as he was in life, he was still more sublimely grand and majestic in death. See him on his dying couch—Calm and dignified in his distress, he has fought the good fight, and Death to him has no terrors!—

With his own firm hand he closes his eyes——and is gone!—His form is now no more the terror of the valiant. Dim and feeble is the Chief, who travelled in strength and brightness before. He rests in the dark and narrow house of the tomb. The feeble will find his bow at home, but they will not be able to bend it. Fallen is the arm of battle! Deep is the sleep of the dead; low their pillow of dust; damp and cold the couch of their repose. When, O, when will it be morn in the grave to bid the slumberer awake! Farewell, thou first in every field, farewell!—The field shall behold thee no more; no more the dark wood be lightened with the splendour of thy steel. Thou hast left no son; but the song shall preserve thy name. Future times shall hear of thee. The sons of Columbia shall be sad, and the tear of the young virgin will fall! And well may we weep——

“ Quis desiderio fit pudor, aut modus,
“ Tam cari capitis?”——

But, my countrymen! while we are paying this last sad tribute of respect to the ashes of our dear departed Chief; while we entomb his relics in the earth, and inurn his memory in our hearts,—let us not forget to emulate his virtues in our lives. The husband, the parent, the friend, the neighbour, the citizen, the Christian, or the man, can never deserve higher eulogy than this,—that his deportment, in his appropriate sphere, resembles that of a WASHINGTON.

A friend to our holy religion, he was ever guided by its pious doctrines, and had embraced the tenets of the Episcopal Church; yet his charity, unbounded as his immortal mind, led him equally to respect every denomination of the followers of JESUS. Meek and distrustful of himself, he was liberal and candid to others. Superior to the little prejudices which subsist among different sects—prejudices, which deform the beauty and destroy the harmony of the religious world, he loved, and wept, and prayed—for all.

In his Masonic character was exemplified an ency-

clopedia of Masonic virtues. Long has he stood a majestic column in the bright temple of perfection. Let every Mason labour by his example—he will find refreshment in the South, and his reward in the West. He will soon reach the high meridian of excellence, and be admitted into the inner chamber of that temple, which is made without hands. There he will again behold his Master;—there he will meet and embrace his brother,

“ In that Grand Lodge, that’s far awa’.”

In his military career, we find displayed all that is great and sublime in the soldier. Let the youthful warrior read his life; let it be his darling theme by day, and his meditation by night; let him study his example, and copy his virtues, and he will be great, he will be immortal!

The war-worn veteran, who, with him in danger, has long borne the burden and heat of the day, crowned with laurels of unfading green, will at length rest with him in that world, where wars and toils can never come.

True, my companions in arms, we have lost our leader! To us this affliction is peculiarly painful and distressing. Let this console us—that he has gone before us to receive the reward of his labours—to join the worthy band of patriots and heroes, who fought and bled by his side.

Behold him, like Elijah, ascending to heaven in the bright chariot of his glory! Well may we exclaim, with the forsaken Elisha, “ My father! my father! The chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!”

In whatever point of view we consider this great man, we still find him to have been “ a light to our feet, and a lamp to our paths.” Our Moses in the wilderness, our Samson in the field, and our Solomon in counsel. “ First in war, first in peace, and first in the affections of his country.” But, alas! he was a “ beam that has failed;” and will not darkness now gather on our land? Though his departure was in re-

noun, yet who knows but it is the loud harbinger of approaching calamity? Who can tell what may be the next page in the vast volume of futurity? Written by the finger of God, who maketh "darkness his pavilion," who can tell whether it be in letters of gold, or in characters of blood? Who knows, but that, even now, the dawn of our national glory is overcast; that the morning of our political happiness already lowers; that the loud tempest of our country's ruin is collecting around us; that the war of contending elements, and the terrible thunders of Mount Sinai, are ready to burst upon our heads; and that WASHINGTON, ever the peculiar care of Heaven, is now snatched from among the victims of vengeance, into Abraham's bosom, as a refuge from the impending storm?

Blessed be the God of our fathers! it is not so!—No—he was sent to work out our political salvation; he has accomplished his mission; he has finished his work; and he is now hearing pronounced that glorious euge—"Well done! good and faithful servant! enter thou into the joys of thy Lord!"

Like the good prophet of old, he has left his mantle behind him, and lo! it rests on Elisha! We have an ADAMS in the cabinet; we have a HAMILTON in the field! Our land will still be blest. We have both the precepts and example of WASHINGTON to guide us. He will still continue to be our guardian angel; and may we not hope for his intercession with HIM, who doeth his will in the armies of heaven?

He is not dead, but removed—removed from Mount Vernon below, to Mount Zion above.

"From Vernon's Mount behold the Hero rise!
 Resplendent forms attend him through the skies!
 The shades of war-worn veterans round him throng,
 And lead, enwrapt, their honour'd Chief along!
 A laurel wreath th' immortal WARREN bears,
 An arch triumphal MERCER's hand prepares;
 Young LAWRENCE, erst th' avenging bolt of war,
 With port majestic, guides the glittering car;
 MONTGOMERY's godlike form directs the way,
 And GREENE unfolds the gates of endless day;
 While Angels, "trumpet-tongued," proclaim through air,
 "Due honours for the FIRST OF MEN prepare!"

M m

Behold the venerable form of the hero, diffidently meek and majestic, approach the throne of God! See him, with tearful solicitude, sublimely bending, to implore protection for his darling country; while the marshalled hosts of heaven are drawn up in regular battalia, to welcome, with presented arms, the immortal stranger; while saints, seraphs, and archangels, in harmonious concert, shout—"He comes! he comes! —the hero comes!"

A Discourse

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Delivered *December 29, 1799.*

BY JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND,
Minister of the New South Church, *Boston.*

JOB XXIX. 25.

*I CHOSE OUT THEIR WAY, AND SAT CHIEF, AND DWELT
AS A KING IN THE ARMY, AS ONE THAT COMFORTETH
THE MOURNERS.*

THE great destroyer has now obtained a full triumph. WASHINGTON, the delight of mankind, the boast of his countrymen, sleeps in dust: a conqueror, yet vanquished by the last enemy: a sage, yet unskilled to avert the stroke of death. Is then the curtain drawn between us, and the earthly scene to him closed forever? Is he covered with the darkness of the grave, no more to share our fortunes, to receive our prayers? Is that heart cold which used to beat high for our welfare; and that ear closed, which met our daily benedictions?

Where is the unmoved countenance, the unmoistened eye? Whose bosom has not heaved its sighs? whose heart not felt a wound? The wife has lost the companion of her early and declining years; the orphan, a vigilant protector; the servant, a beloved master; the private associate, an affectionate friend and kind neighbour. Domestic connexions! we allow your tide of affection to flow; and we share your affliction. But there is a wide sea of public sorrow, which drowns the streams of individual grief. Americans have lost

a father ; mankind a friend. The mourners are not a family or neighbourhood, a town or state ; they are a nation, a world. Well may persons of every age and condition manifest emotion ; the old man falter out his sorrow, and youth chastise its gaiety ; the gentle sex pay their soft tribute of affection, and the hardy veteran wipe his stern eye at the remembrance of his General.

America, without WASHINGTON, resembles the earth without the light of day. Associated as he was with all we loved and valued in our country—possessions, pursuits, and pleasures, for a time, sink in our esteem. We exulted in our country, because it gave him birth ; we thought better of our nature, because it produced such a man. The sense of this gift of Heaven increased the fervour of our devotions ; and our national felicity seemed to be crowned in WASHINGTON. Time has been, when, indeed, his services were more immediately necessary ; and the political salvation of his country seemed to depend on the continuance of his life. But if his departure at this time has a less unpropitious aspect upon the public prosperity, yet it cannot be thought unimportant to the momentous interests of the empire ; whilst it arrests our melancholy feelings, and wounds our fond attachments to his name. His sun approached the horizon ; yet, with delighted eyes, we gazed on its parting splendour, believing, that, if clouds should thicken to a tempest in our political sky, it would shine out in all its meridian brightness, and chase them away. Though he had left the drama to distinguished actors, yet he might again be called out to support a part in some master scene, to which no other man might be found suited : Nay, he was already prepared, if the catastrophe should require it, to step upon the stage, and be the hero of the eventful tragedy, into which his country seemed to be hastening.

Was the nation to be roused from dangerous sleep ? his name was sounded in their ears. Was faction to be driven from the light ? it was pointed to his awful

frown. Was a foreign foe to be deterred from invasion? it was shown his hand upon his sword. With him its patron, the federal administration would not despair of final support; with him their leader, the armies of America would be ineffectually held up to odium, would be created with facility, and, in every conflict, would feel invincible. In the present dubious aspect of our national interests, every thing was hoped, in aid of the present system, from the part which he would take, in case of civil dissension, or increased danger from foreign arts or arms.

Whilst the life of this personage was so interesting to the public welfare, it was not less subservient to the private virtues of the man, the citizen, and the Christian. With him its patron and model, no moral virtue wanted a living eulogy; no laudable sacrifice an animating incentive. We strengthened our defence of the gospel, by showing the infidel that WASHINGTON was a Christian; and we put to silence the selfish traducer of patriotism, by reminding him of the patriot WASHINGTON. Men were animated to be just and sincere, disinterested and humane, diligent and frugal, modest and brave, not only because it was right and wise, but because it was to follow WASHINGTON.

Is there a good man in the civilized world, is there a good man in our country, who will forbid us to weep over this departed worth? who will refuse to mingle his tears with ours? Is there a bad man who is not obliged to respect, if too insensible to partake, our sorrow? Think not thou ever lovedst thy race or country, if this event does not make thee solemn. Dream not of loving thy God, if the benefactors he has lent are resigned without reluctant sorrow; nor let any untouched heart claim that SAVIOUR, who wept at the tomb of his friend. Let there be no wonder nor derision in the most thoughtless, because a grateful people are penetrated with grief, and exclaim with anguish, "How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!"

He who chose out our way, and sat chief, and dwelt as a king in the army, as one that comforteth the mourners," is turned to dust. Is it nothing to you, all ye who pass by? Behold and see, if any nation has be-moaned a man like this man! Suffer us, ye most un-moved spectators, to dress our altars and persons in the habiliments of grief; nor deem our feelings extravagant, if nature itself appears to sympathize, and wear a general face of mourning; if the luminary of day seems to shed a saddened beam, and the darkness of evening to thicken around us with a deepened gloom.

But let not our melancholy sensations be unaccompanied by that thoughtfulness and resignation, which reason and religion require. Does no ray of consolation break through the cloud, which this event has spread upon our land? Our Chief is dead; but our God lives; the God, who made him great and good, and demands our praise; who shakes the props of human trust, and exacts our submission; who, extinguishing one light, enkindles others, and encourages our confidence.

Our leader in peace and war is dead; but his counsels and his example will never die. His body is lodged in the dark recess of the tomb; but faith follows his immortal spirit into the region of eternal day! Whilst then you feel, submit; whilst you mourn, be wise. Is it all we owe to the Author of events, to lament over affliction? Is it all we owe to the subject of our present grief, to pay him funeral honours?

With pious awe and gratitude, let us regard the conduct of Divine Providence, in his commanding talents and virtues, his great and beneficent actions, and his prosperous fortune. Let us be instructed by his counsels, guided and animated by his example, and let us rejoice in the hope of his reward in heaven.

In the plan of Providence, a few are made dispensers of blessings to many; and when great events are designed, great men are furnished to conduct them to their issue. America was to pass through the tumult

of war, and the revolution of empire, to national independence; and, having secured independence, was to erect an efficient frame of government upon the ruins of her former establishments. In fulfilling this awful, though glorious destiny, amid the convulsive movements of a mighty struggle, the ferment of the popular mind, the disorder attendant on the prostration of old institutions and customs, amid the trials and hazards of a war with power abroad and anarchy at home, how should she escape subjugation or subversion, without not only many sages and many heroes, but without some conspicuous leading character, to be a rallying point for discordant parties, "to choose out her way, to fit chief, to dwell as a king in the army," as a comforter of the feeble and despondent! This guardian angel kind Heaven bestowed in WASHINGTON. In him, the blossoms of the spring had promised the future harvest.

At the early period of twenty-two, in a difficult embassy, and in the blood-stained field, he had displayed the prudence of age united to the ardour of youth; and already it was predicted that the heroic Colonel WASHINGTON would render some eminent service to his country.

When, at the commencement of our late revolution, the American armies required a chief; a unanimous choice selected him for the perilous distinction. He held this command till he had conducted us through the darkness, perplexities, and suffering of our pilgrimage into the promised land of independence and peace, and then laid down his cumbrous honours. When the ill-jointed fabric of our union was falling to the ground, he presided in that assembly which projected an edifice more compact and strong, adapted to afford a shelter from the storms always gathering in our troubled sky.

When the new government was to begin its course, pledging his dear-bought fame, he took the helm, and again embarked on the ocean of events. Being twice elected head of the nation, with his characteristic moderation he avoided the distinction which he was

certain to receive, and returned to the leisure and obscurity of a private station ; where, having for forty-five years lived for his country, he might, during the remnant of his days, live for himself. But

“ Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
Not light them for themselves.”

“ Spirits are not finely touch’d
But to fine issues.”

A name and an influence like WASHINGTON’S, Providence would not suffer to be unemployed, in a period, when all dear and sacred to man, is put in hazard by the madness of innovation, of revolution, and of conquest ; and when even this remote region was called to partake of the vial of wrath poured out upon the nations of the Old World. The spirit of resistance to Gallic injury and insult was kindled, and WASHINGTON pronounced it a genuine flame ; believing, that the “ cup of reconciliation had been exhausted to the last drop.” He would not think he had done enough for his country, whilst any thing remained to be done. He obeyed the call to the chief command of the army of defence, not desiring to hang up his armour whilst his country had an enemy ; as ready to place the helmet on his silvered head, and to bare his aged breast to the wounds aimed at her peace and freedom, as he ever had been to devote the strength of his youth and the energies of his manhood to her cause.

It is the sad consolation of grief, to contemplate the excellencies of those we have lost. When we trace this full-orbed character in war and in peace, in public and in private life, we are struck with all those qualities, which could render him estimable and amiable in the peculiar situations in which he was called to act. The history of his long military command, is the history of a mind, dignified in sentiments, calm in dangers, large in views, clear in foresight, safe in counsels, and abundant in resources ; of caution to plan, and patience to toil, with vigour to execute ; of a rigid economy, joined to a becoming liberality ; of a perfe-

verance which never relaxed, of a constancy which never yielded.

Who was ever in his presence without feeling that he was made to overawe and command mankind? In whom did the nearest approach and most familiar intercourse weaken respect? Insolence was checked before him, and even his enemies compelled not only to express but to feel veneration.

He ventured upon a command of infinite hazard; and was self-possessed in the most trying and desperate situations. Whilst Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, which he has immortalized, evinced his contempt of personal danger, where it was proper to expose himself; we see the comprehension and foresight of his mind, and the safety of his counsels, in his care to obtain the best advice; in his adapting his measures to his situation and resources; in the facility at expedients which he ever manifested; and in the mode of warfare, which he adopted and pursued, in defiance of ignorant and credulous clamour, and at the hazard of his own popularity; a mode, less splendid than wise, less flattering to the ambition and ardour, than indispensable to the weakness of his army. It was his object, throughout the contest, to act on the defensive, where attack was hazardous; to tire out the enemy by delay, when it was impossible to overpower him by force; and never to risk the cause, at the expense of prudence, to gain the empty though captivating praise of valour.

He gave all his time, from the moment he rose, till he retired to short rest, to the multiplied duties of his station. With his "mind constantly on the stretch, his feelings often wounded, and innumerable events happening contrary to his wishes and expectations," he never lost his affection to the cause. Obligated to maintain a perpetual struggle with every species of difficulty, he was never the victim of "traitor doubts" or disheartening fear. Unsubdued by fatigue, undisturbed by disappointment, undaunted by danger, he

kept on his course, till the glorious work was done, and his country was free. At this moment, he enjoyed and seized the opportunity of displaying that moderation and firmness, which had marked every act of his military life. An army victorious, yet unrewarded; successful for a country which seemed unable or indisposed to use success for its own benefit or that of its defenders, might be made the instrument of an ambition, that was capable of being disguised by the plea of justice. But such an army, in the estimation of the unambitious WASHINGTON, could confer no higher honour on themselves or their leader, than to serve and suffer for their country without any compensation, if it could not be obtained by regular means. Under his auspices they retired from the field of war, which had produced them only laurels, consenting, with their illustrious General, to lose the soldier in the citizen.

In peace as in war, we contemplate in WASHINGTON a highly finished character. Often are the brilliant qualities of the warrior shaded with the deep vices of the man; for the unprincipled may be fired with thirst of military glory: But his heroism was the heroism of virtue, not of ambition. His fortitude was firmness of soul to do his duty, not the energy of selfish and unlawful passions. Hence was this man uniform and consistent throughout; and his virtues, excited by principle, were the tenor, not the impulse, of his soul. What a noble disinterestedness did he ever exhibit! His life was a continual sacrifice of inclination to duty, and of every mean consideration of self-love to public good. How did he hazard his fortune, his character, and his life, in taking the command of our small, ill-provided, and transient armies, in a contest, in which the difficulties were innumerable and the resources most inadequate, the responsibility vast, and the issue awfully uncertain? Could the most audacious malice charge with any inordinate bias from private feelings, him, who never employed his power to advance a relative, but who was known, in appointments, to sacrifice

his personal sentiments to the desire of getting the best talents into office ; him, who refused all the opportunities of adding to his private fortune by his public services ; him, who having reached the haven of hope, at the conclusion of his military command, consented, by accepting the Presidency, to embark on a sea more turbulent than war itself ?

In this man was a collection of virtues, which assimilated his character not to the general face of the heavens, which shows here and there a scattered star, but rather to the crowded galaxy, which exhibits an uninterrupted brightness. In every situation and exigency, which afforded scope, we saw him prudent, honest, and firm ; diligent, methodical, and self-possessed ; dignified, modest, and pious.

He practised not less secrecy as a General and Statesman, than frankness as a man ; as cautious in determination as decided in action ; not less desirous to avail himself of the knowledge and opinions of others, than accustomed to make a result purely his own. Unwilling as he was to provoke opposition, it was yet in vain that a misguided or factious majority endeavoured to obtain his acquiescence in their usurpation of the executive power. Ever paying much deference to public opinion, in vain was he assailed by an unexpected and almost universal clamour, when the interest and honour of his country required him to sanction a foreign treaty. “ I confide (says he) that sudden impressions, when erroneous, will yield to candid reflection. While I feel the most lively gratitude for the many instances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwise deserve it, than by obeying the dictates of my conscience.” It was to be expected that a man so capable of governing others, would be able to govern himself. We are told, that his passions, by nature strong and irritable, were brought by discipline, into complete subjection ; so that he, whom original constitution disposed to turbulence and vindictiveness, appeared the pattern of equanimity and forbearance. What modesty

joined with greatness, distinguished this extraordinary man! Alive to character, keenly sensible to virtuous praise, the plaudits of a nation and a world were yet never known to elicit from him one spark of vanity, or to raise one emotion of pride. The virtues of our departed friend were crowned by piety. He is known to have been habitually devout. To Christian institutions he gave the countenance of his example; and no one could express more fully his sense of the Providence of God, and the dependence of man. "When I contemplate (said he) the interposition of Providence, as it was visibly manifested in guiding us through the revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a general government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America to one another after its adoption—I feel myself oppressed and almost overwhelmed with a sense of the divine munificence: I feel that nothing is due to my personal agency in all these complicated and wonderful events, except what can simply be attributed to the exertions of an honest zeal for the good of my country." When we acknowledge God in the talents, virtues, and services of the departed Chief, let us not overlook the hand of Providence in his prosperous fortune, displayed in the many favourable incidents of his life, in the constancy of the public affection and confidence, and in his death.

Of respectable ancestry, he had yet no distinguished predecessors to divide with him his glory; and no posterity to present a mortifying declension; seeming to come occasionally into the system, like a new orb in the heavens. Born to affluence, he was enabled to disclaim any emoluments from office. Inhabiting the ancient territory, reasons of state dictated his elevation; and renowned for the military skill and valour of his youth, no one appeared a fair competitor for the high command with which he was invested. In the person of the hero, we look for some correspondence to his mind and character. The tall and proportioned stature, the dignified and graceful port, the grave

and noble countenance of WASHINGTON, were no unimportant advantages to a man destined to act his conspicuous part. Turning our attention from himself to the events of his history, we are struck with the signatures of providential agency. The finger of God is inscribed on numerous incidents which occurred to aid his military command and his civil administration; to avert imminent dangers, to second his own plans and to frustrate the plans of his enemies. His good fortune appeared in nothing more, than in the constancy of the public affection and confidence, amid all fluctuations of opinion and varieties of circumstance. Probably no great man ever before possessed so stable and universal a popularity. How revered, how loved, how trusted! Whilst the wise and good entertained for him an unbounded esteem, the most unprincipled and unsusceptible were impressed with awe. Ill success did not shake the confidence and attachment of his country: Amid his reverses it adhered to him, when any other man would have been forsaken. What weapons did not this support of his countrymen put into his hands! In what impenetrable armour did it not inclose his reputation! He wanted no guards to defend his life; no breastplate to repel the assassin's dagger; more guarded by the love and prayers of his country, than monarchs by myriads of armed vassals. When he travelled, admiring crowds thronged his way: illuminations, processions, festivals, announced his approach; the blessings of a grateful people were heaped upon his head; and as he passed our streets, "every eye glistened with rapture, and every heart swelled till it seemed too big for its little tenement."

Do not the angels weep that there were any voices which refused to join the notes of gratitude; any ears to which the melodious sound was grating? God forgive and reclaim those few enemies of virtue, who dared to pollute the spotless fame of WASHINGTON with the poisonous breath of their calumnies. He sleeps in that peaceful abode where their reproaches or praises

avail him not. But if they are not hardened against every ingenuous and penitential feeling, let their relenting hearts render that homage to departed, which they refused to living worth; let them mourn and detest that audacious spirit of party, which could prompt even the worst man in the world to revile General WASHINGTON. May God forgive our nation those factions, which, if they did not wound his reputation, wounded his peace, and filled his heart with anguish. In his struggle with these factions, he appears with superior dignity and goodness. We do not mention the dark plot, laid in the old Congress, to divest him of his command, and blast the laurels which encircled his brow; and which the indignant frown of public justice and gratitude confounded. It was in the execution of his office of first magistrate of the Union, that all the engines of domestic faction and foreign intrigue, were employed to weaken the hands of his administration. We remember the time, when the people seemed to abandon their own government and country, in their infatuated attachment to a former ally; when they seemed to be almost determined to hang their fortunes upon her will, and mingle their destinies with her crimes and follies; when an organized opposition to government, under the auspices of a foreign incendiary, was trying all its resources; when insurrection was fomented in one part, and in all parts an ordinary commercial treaty was used for blowing the country into a flame. We remember WASHINGTON, at this awful crisis, presiding in the tumult and directing the storm. Vain were open and disguised efforts to turn him from the course of impartial neutrality and justice, which he had resolved to pursue. Great and generous spirit! who didst never cease to study our welfare. Not disheartened by gloomy aspects; not wearied by severe toils; thy disgust often awakened, and thy principles slandered; obliged to maintain a perpetual and sometimes useless combat with ignorance, prejudice, and depravity, thou didst never swerve from thy heroic purpose of securing the glory

and happiness of America. If we forget thee, then shall we forget that we have a country. When thy services and sacrifices fail to kindle gratitude, and thy bright example to inflame an emulous zeal, then will every spark of patriotism be extinguished.

The good fortune of this man followed him to the grave. Divine favour distinguished not less his death than his life. Suffering no debility from age, destined to consume no days and nights in sickness, with an untarnished fame, his sun has set without a cloud.

But at this moment of feeling, or at any moment, who shall presume to attempt to do justice to this overwhelming theme.

“ To those who know thee not, no words can paint,
And those who know thee, know all words are faint.”

His actions and fortunes will be glorious and immortal subjects for the historian, orator, and poet. When American literature shall have passed from its present infancy into old age, this theme will possess the freshness of youth. The history of this hero will indeed be very different from that of vulgar heroes, of the Alexanders and Cæsars, the Cortes's and Charles's, whose greatness is as execrable as it is immortal. It will be the history, not of cities sacked, of countries wasted, and empires ruined. His sword was not stained with the blood of innocence, nor his conquests watered by the widow's and the orphan's tears. His trophies are the trophies of wisdom and humanity, the peace, prosperity, and order of his country.

What an everlasting debt of gratitude to Heaven, do his talents and services impose on Americans ; gratitude, not only for the national blessings which he was made to dispense, but also for the honour which he conferred on human nature. What confidence do they inspire in the future care of Providence to this favoured land ; a confidence supported by a recollection of the wise and good men who survive, to guide us in peace and in war. How deeply afflicted is every Christian, every humane, every patriotic heart, that this first of

men is forever gone. Very pleasant has he been unto us. We loved WASHINGTON, because we loved our fathers and mothers, our wives and children, our liberties and lives. We loved him, because he loved us to the last. He could not repose in the peace of the grave, till he had bequeathed us his parting counsel. With generous frankness, he admonished us of our faults; with friendly caution, warned us of our dangers. O! let his lessons be engraved on the tablet of our hearts, and made the standard of our actions.

If happiness is proportioned to our benevolence, and to bless is to be blest, how happy, how blest was WASHINGTON. The end of a life like his, when only pleasing reflections arose from the past, and immortal hopes shone on the future, must be the foretaste of heavenly enjoyments. Yet was not the happiness of his last moments unmingled, when he thought of his beloved country. With anxious forebodings, relieved indeed by trust in Providence, he inquired, "Will this people disregard my affectionate counsel? Will they embitter social intercourse by party spirit; admit the poison of foreign influence; be distracted by domestic faction? Will they overlook the kind hand of God, which has conducted them from small beginnings to a mighty empire? Will they lose those morals, without which laws are vain; and condemn religion, which exalts the individual, and blesses communities? Should this be their destiny, can heaven be heaven to me? O my countrymen! disturb not my felicity hereafter, by the fear that the country, for which I have consumed anxious days and watchful nights, for which I have toiled and suffered, prayed and wept, will sport away their rights and blessings."

Are we determined that these foreboded evils shall not be realized? Then will the rulers of America call up the respected idea of the Father of his country, and govern themselves by the eternal laws of justice, and the wise maxims of policy which he inculcated and practised; will shut their ears to the clamours of prejudice

and passion, and listen only to the calls of public good. American warriors will turn their eyes to the path of glory which he trod, and swear to the God of Armies, that the land which gave them birth shall be a land of freedom, or a desert.

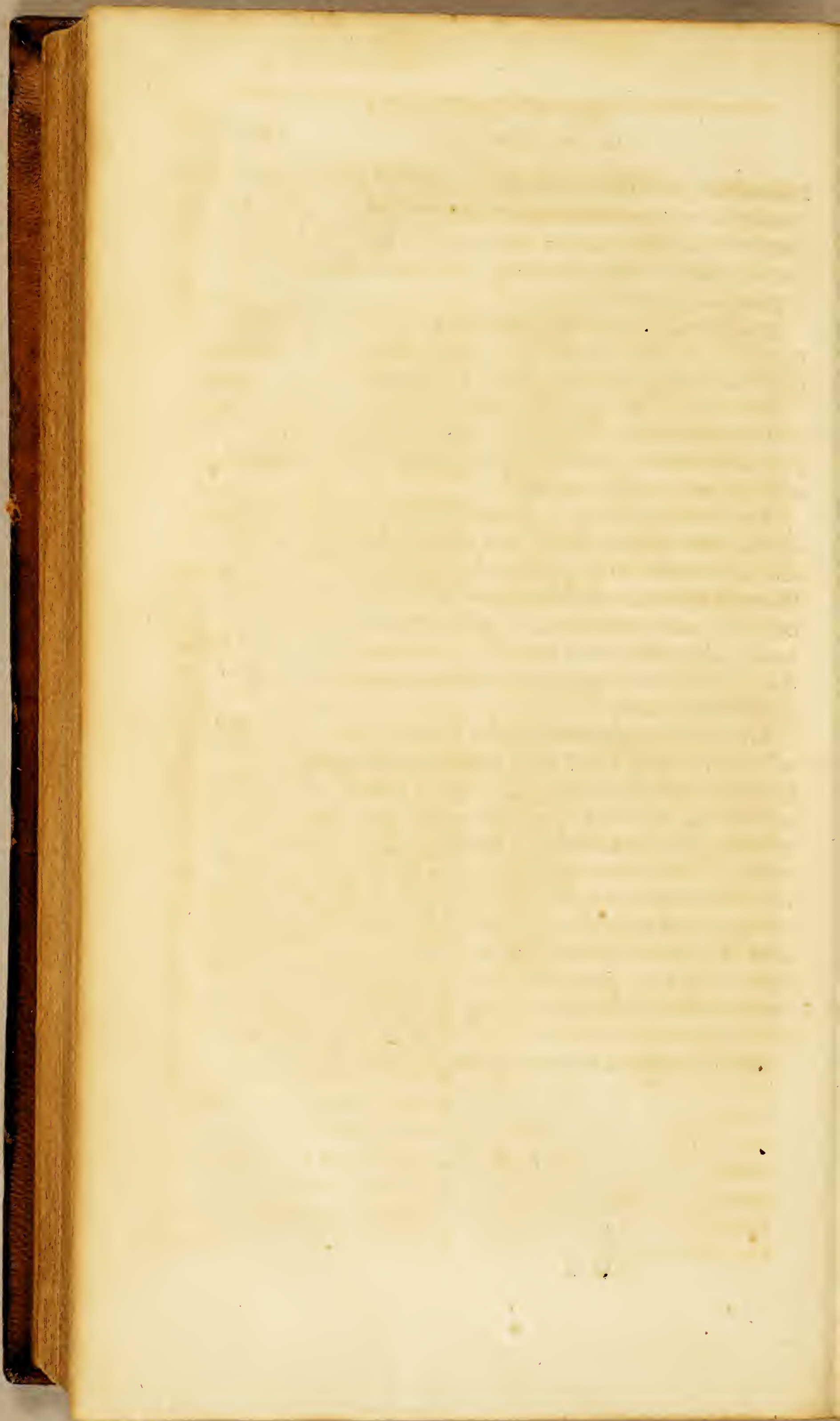
Parents will teach their children to repeat his prudent maxims ; to list his praises ; to be excited to every generous purpose by the charm of his name.

Ministers of religion, by their doctrines and lives, will withstand the progress of that corruption in principle and practice, to which the minds and manners of men are perpetually exposed.

American citizens, in the humblest stations, if they cannot, like him, be great and immortal on earth, may, like him, aspire to be great and immortal in heaven, by the remembrance and imitation of his industry, order, integrity, and prudence, his disinterestedness and humanity, his piety and humility. Then, though he be dead, he shall yet speak to successive generations in their own wisdom and virtues.

Unnerved is that hand, which hewed out our way to empire, and silent that tongue which spoke with sweet persuasion. That eye which beamed benignity and truth, is closed in death ; and that heart which throbbed for its country is pressed by the clod of the valley. His power and glory, his wealth and magnificence are no more ! for his military vestments, he wears the livery of the grave ; and for his splendid mansion, inhabits a narrow tomb ! But he lives in his illustrious deeds : he lives in the affection of his countrymen ; and we believe that his slumbering atoms will live again at the resurrection of the just, united to the immortal spirit, and he will dwell forever in the paradise of God.

E N D.



SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

A			
ABBOT James,	<i>Billerica</i>	Allen Benjamin,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Abbot Henry,	<i>Bedford</i>	Allen Elijah,	<i>Medway</i>
Abbot Joshua,	<i>do.</i>	Alline William,	<i>Boston</i>
Adams Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>	Ames Fisher,	<i>Dedham</i>
Adams William,	<i>Chelmsford</i>	Ames Jonas,	<i>Boston</i>
Adie Thomas,	<i>Portland</i>	Andrews James,	<i>do.</i>
Aiken Joseph,	<i>Boston</i>	Andrews John,	<i>Newburyport</i>
Akeley Joseph,	<i>do.</i>	Archbald Azor G.	<i>Boston</i>
Alden Peter Oliver,	<i>Brunswick</i>	Athearn James,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Allen James A.	<i>Boston</i>	Athearn William,	<i>do.</i>
Allen Wilkes,	<i>Cambridge</i>	Avery John,	<i>Boston</i>
B			
Baker David,	<i>York</i>	Boit Henry,	<i>Boston</i>
Barrell Joseph,	<i>Charlestown</i>	Boott Francis,	<i>do.</i>
Barry James,	<i>Boston</i>	Bowen Nathaniel,	<i>do.</i>
Bartlett Montgomery,	<i>do.</i>	Bowers Josiah,	<i>Billerica</i>
Bardwell Reuben,	<i>Conway</i>	Bowers Benjamin,	<i>do.</i>
Barbour Joseph,	<i>Portland</i>	Boyd Robert,	<i>Portland</i>
Barrett William,	<i>Billerica</i>	Boyle John, jun.	<i>Boston</i>
Barker Daniel W.	<i>Newport</i>	Bradford Le Baron,	<i>do.</i>
Bass Jonathan,	<i>Randolph</i>	Bradley Josiah,	<i>do.</i>
Baxter Daniel,	<i>Boston</i>	Bradley Caleb,	<i>Falmouth</i>
Bayley Samuel P.	<i>Georgia</i>	Bridge Ebenezer,	<i>Chelmsford</i>
Bazin John,	<i>Boston</i>	Brooks Thomas,	<i>Medford</i>
Belknap Andrew E.	<i>do.</i>	Brooks Samuel,	<i>do.</i>
Bell Shubael,	<i>do.</i>	Brooks John,	<i>Boston</i>
Blake Thomas,	<i>do.</i>	Brown Seth T.	<i>do.</i>
Blair Victor, jun.	2 <i>do.</i>	Brown Samuel,	<i>Chelmsford</i>
Blake George,	<i>do.</i>	Brown John C.	<i>Boston</i>
Black Moses,	<i>Quincy</i>	Bulfinch Samuel,	<i>do.</i>
Blaney Joseph,	<i>Boston</i>	Burrill James,	<i>do.</i>
Blackman Unite,	<i>Dorchester</i>	Butterfield James,	<i>do.</i>
Blaney William,	<i>Roxbury</i>	Butterfield Abraham,	<i>do.</i>
Boardman Darius,	<i>Boston</i>	Butler Thomas,	<i>Tisbury</i>

C

Cabot George,	Brookline	Cobb Mathew,	Portland
Cabot Charles,	2 do.	Cochran William,	Boston
Cade Peter,	Boston	Codman Charles R.	do.
Callender John,	Washington City	Collins Joseph,	Ashfield
Carr William,	Tisbury	Cook Levi,	do.
Carter John,	Boston	Cook William,	Augusta, Georgia
Champney John,	Roxbury	Coolidge William,	Boston
Chandler Peleg, jun.	N. Gloucester	Coolidge Cornelius,	do.
Chapin Joseph,	Boston	Coverly Samuel,	do.
Chase Salmon,	Portland	Crane Abijah, jun.	2 do.
Chase Abraham,	Tisbury	Crocker Allen,	do.
Clark Samuel,	Boston	Crocker William A.	Taunton
Clark Nathaniel,	do.	Crosby Henrietta,	Boston
Clap Daniel,	Worcester	Crooker Benjamin,	Plympton
Clary Ethan A.	Ashfield	Crosby Joel,	Boston
Coates Ezra, jun.	Boston	Crosby Oliver,	Billerica
Cobb David,	do.		

D

Dana Daniel,	Newburyport	Devotion John,	Boston
Davis Charles,	Boston	Dexter Jonathan M.	Billerica
Davis Eleanor,	do.	D'Happart Joseph L.	Surinam
Davis Cornelius,	6 New-York	Dickenson Azariah,	Boston
Davis John,	Boston	Dickenson David,	Ashfield
Davis Daniel, jun.	Portland	Ditson Joseph,	Boston
Davis John,	Tisbury	Dix John,	Cambridge
Davenport Benjamin,	Boston	Dix Joseph,	Boston
Davenport Samuel D.	do.	Dodd Timothy,	do.
Davidson James,	Bath	Dodge Abner,	do.
Dawes Thomas,	Boston	Dorr John,	do.
Dawes Thomas,	Roxbury	Doyle William,	do.
Dearbon Nathaniel,	Boston	Duncan Robert, jun.	do.
Deane John,	Standish	Dunham Cornelius,	Tisbury
Deering James,	Portland	Dunbar J.	Scituate
Delano Philip,	New-Braintree		

E

Eaton William B.	Boston	Emery John,	Exeter
Ebeling Professor,	Hamburg	Endicott James,	Canton
Eddy Zachariah,	Providence	Everett Moses,	Dorchester
Ellison James,	Boston		

F

Farley Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>	Foord Jazariah,	<i>Milton</i>
Faxon John,	<i>Newport</i>	Foster Boscenger, jun.	<i>Cambridge</i>
Fellowes Nathaniel, jun.	<i>Havana</i>	Foster Rachel,	<i>Boston</i>
Fellt William,	<i>Medway</i>	Fox John,	<i>do.</i>
Fenno Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>	Fox Daniel,	<i>Portland</i>
Field Bohan P.	<i>N. Yarmouth</i>	Freeman Samuel,	2 <i>do.</i>
Flecher William,	<i>Chelmsford</i>	Furness William,	<i>Boston</i>

G

Gardner Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>	Goss Gustavus A.	<i>Rumford</i>
Gardner Benjamin,	<i>Newport</i>	Gould Lewis,	<i>Billerica</i>
Geyer John W.	<i>Boston</i>	Granger Frederic,	<i>Boston</i>
Geyer Wm. B.	<i>Charleston (S.C.)</i>	Greenleaf Thomas,	<i>do.</i>
Gilleland William,	<i>New-York</i>	Greenwood William P.	2 <i>do.</i>
Gleason Benjamin,	<i>Boston</i>	Gregg William,	<i>Portland</i>
Gloyd David,	<i>Abington</i>	Grew Henry,	<i>Boston</i>
Goodwin Ozias,	<i>Boston</i>	Grofevenor Daniel B.	<i>Paxton</i>
Gore Stephen, jun.	<i>do.</i>	Gurley J. W.	<i>Boston</i>
Gorham William,	<i>Gorham</i>		

H

Harris William,	<i>Boston</i>	Higgins David,	<i>Boston</i>
Hartshorn Oliver,	<i>do.</i>	Hopkins James D.	<i>Portland</i>
Haskell John,	<i>do.</i>	Hort Robert S.	<i>Newport</i>
Haskell Abram,	<i>Lunenburg</i>	Howe Stephen,	<i>Boston</i>
Haskins John, jun.	<i>Boston</i>	Howe John,	<i>Roxbury</i>
Hayden Benjamin, jun.	<i>Braintree</i>	Howe James,	<i>do.</i>
Hays Moses M.	<i>Boston</i>	Hudson Barzilla,	<i>Boston</i>
Hays Judah,	<i>do.</i>	Hunt Samuel W.	<i>do.</i>
Henshaw William,	<i>Leicester</i>	Hunter William,	<i>Charlest. (S.C.)</i>
Hill Jeremiah,	<i>Biddeford</i>	Huse Enoch,	<i>Boston</i>
Hill Thomas,	<i>Boston</i>		

I J

Illey Isaac,	<i>Portland</i>	Johnson Lewis, jun.	<i>Savannah</i>
Ingersoll Benjamin,	<i>Boston</i>	Jones Ebenezer,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Ingraham Joseph H.	<i>Portland</i>	Jones Samuel,	<i>New-York</i>
Janes Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>	Jones Timothy,	<i>Berlin</i>
Jewett James,	<i>Portland</i>	Judkins Moses S.	<i>Kingston</i>
Johnson Alfred,	<i>Freeport</i>		

K

Kane James,	<i>Albany</i>	Kidder Ephraim, jun.	<i>Billerica</i>
Kahler Jeremiah,	<i>Boston</i>	Kidder John,	<i>do.</i>
Kellogg Elijah,	<i>Portland</i>	Kilton Jonathan,	<i>Boston</i>
Kennedy Thomas,	<i>Boston</i>	Knapp George,	<i>do.</i>
Kettell Andrew, jun.	<i>do.</i>	Kneeland William,	<i>do.</i>
Kidder Thomas,	<i>do.</i>	Kolloch Lemuel,	<i>Charlestown (S.C.)</i>

L

Langford Arthur,	<i>Boston</i>	Longfellow Stephen,	<i>Gorham</i>
Langley Samuel, jun.	<i>Roxbury</i>	Look Samuel,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Leeds James,	<i>Brookline</i>	Look Elijah,	<i>do.</i>
Lewis Archelaus,	<i>Falmouth</i>	Lopaus Andrew,	<i>Boston</i>
Lewis Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>	Lord Nathaniel,	<i>Ipswich</i>
Lincoln Benjamin,	<i>Hingham</i>	Lovett William,	<i>Boston</i>
Little John P.	<i>Gorham</i>	Luce Ezekiel,	<i>Tisbury</i>

M

March Pelatiah,	<i>Otisfield</i>	Melville Thomas,	<i>Boston</i>
Marshall William, jun.	<i>Boston</i>	Mero Richard,	<i>do.</i>
Marston David S.	<i>do.</i>	Messinger Daniel,	<i>do.</i>
Martin William,	<i>Portland</i>	Messinger Henry,	<i>do.</i>
May Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>	Metcalf Luther,	<i>Medway</i>
Mayhew Nathaniel,	<i>Chilmack</i>	Miller Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>
Mayo Jesse,	<i>Boston</i>	Miller Phinehas,	<i>Charlestown (S.C.)</i>
Mayo Ebenezer,	<i>Portland</i>	Morse Jedediah,	<i>Charlestown</i>
M'Intire George W.	<i>Boston</i>	Morse Abner,	<i>Medway</i>
M'Neill William H.	<i>do.</i>	Morrill Elisha,	<i>Waltham</i>
M'Cleary Samuel F.	<i>do.</i>	Moulton Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>
Melville Allan,	<i>do.</i>	Munson Israel,	<i>do.</i>

N

Nolen Hervey,	<i>Boston</i>	Newell Jonathan A.	<i>Littleton</i>
Norwood John G.	<i>do.</i>	Nevers Elijah,	<i>Boston</i>

O

Oliver Francis J.	<i>Boston</i>	Otis Cushing,	<i>Scituate</i>
Oliver William,	<i>do.</i>		

P

Packard Hezekiah,	<i>Chelmsford</i>	Paine Elijah,	<i>Ashfield</i>
Palmer John H. Guildford (Ver.)		Parker Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

303

Parker John R.	<i>Boston</i>	Phillips James,	<i>Boston</i>
Parker Samuel,	<i>Billerica</i>	Piper Nahum,	<i>do.</i>
Parker Stephen,	<i>do.</i>	Poignand David,	<i>Roxbury</i>
Parker Joseph,	<i>Chelmsford</i>	Pomroy Zadock,	<i>Boston</i>
Parker Daniel, jun.	<i>Boston</i>	Poole James,	<i>Portland</i>
Parry Richard,	<i>do.</i>	Poor Moses,	<i>Boston</i>
Parsons Nehemiah,	<i>do.</i>	Price Ezekiel,	<i>do.</i>
Pemberton Ebenezer,	<i>Billerica</i>	Proctor John,	<i>do.</i>
Phillips Joshua,	<i>Ashfield</i>		

R

Randall Silas, jun.	<i>Stow</i>	Richardson Jacob, 14	<i>Newport</i>
Renaud A.	<i>Boston</i>	Richmond Edward,	<i>Stoughton</i>
Rhodes Amos,	<i>Lynn</i>	Robinson Edward,	<i>Dorchester</i>
Richards Joseph, 2	<i>Boston</i>	Robinson James,	<i>do.</i>
Richardson James,	<i>Virginia</i>	Robinson James,	<i>Lynn</i>
Richardson Thomas,	<i>Billerica</i>	Rumrill Samuel,	<i>Boston</i>
Richardson Jacob,	<i>do.</i>	Russell Samuel P. N.	<i>Yarmouth</i>
Richardson Josiah, jun.	<i>Chelmsford</i>		

S

Salisbury Samuel, jun.	<i>Boston</i>	Southgate Robert,	<i>Scarborough</i>
Sandford Thomas,	<i>Portland</i>	Southgate John,	<i>Leicester</i>
Sandford David,	<i>Medway</i>	Spalding Rufus,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Sargent Daniel, jun. 2	<i>Boston</i>	Stedman William,	<i>Lancaster</i>
Saville James,	<i>Gloucester</i>	Stimson Jeremiah,	<i>Boston</i>
Sawyer Artemas,	<i>Boston</i>	Stone Micah,	<i>Andover</i>
Shaw Noah,	<i>do.</i>	Storer Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>
Shaw Josiah C.	<i>Newport</i>	Storer Woodbury, jun.	<i>Portland</i>
Skinner William S.	<i>Boston</i>	Storrow Thomas W.	<i>Boston</i>
Sleeper Jonathan F.	<i>do.</i>	Stowell Daniel,	<i>Paris</i>
Smith Sylvanus,	<i>do.</i>	Stuart Jonathan,	<i>Portland</i>
Smith Joel,	<i>Lincoln</i>	Sturgis Nathaniel R.	<i>Boston</i>
Smith John, jun.	<i>Boston</i>	Sylvester Luther,	<i>Scituate</i>
Smith John K.	<i>New-Gloucester</i>	Symmes William,	<i>Portland</i>
Smith Peter T.	<i>Windham</i>		

T

Tenney Samuel,	<i>Exeter</i>	Thacher Peter, jun.	<i>Boston</i>
Thacher Joseph W.	<i>Boston</i>	Thayer Samuel M.	<i>do.</i>

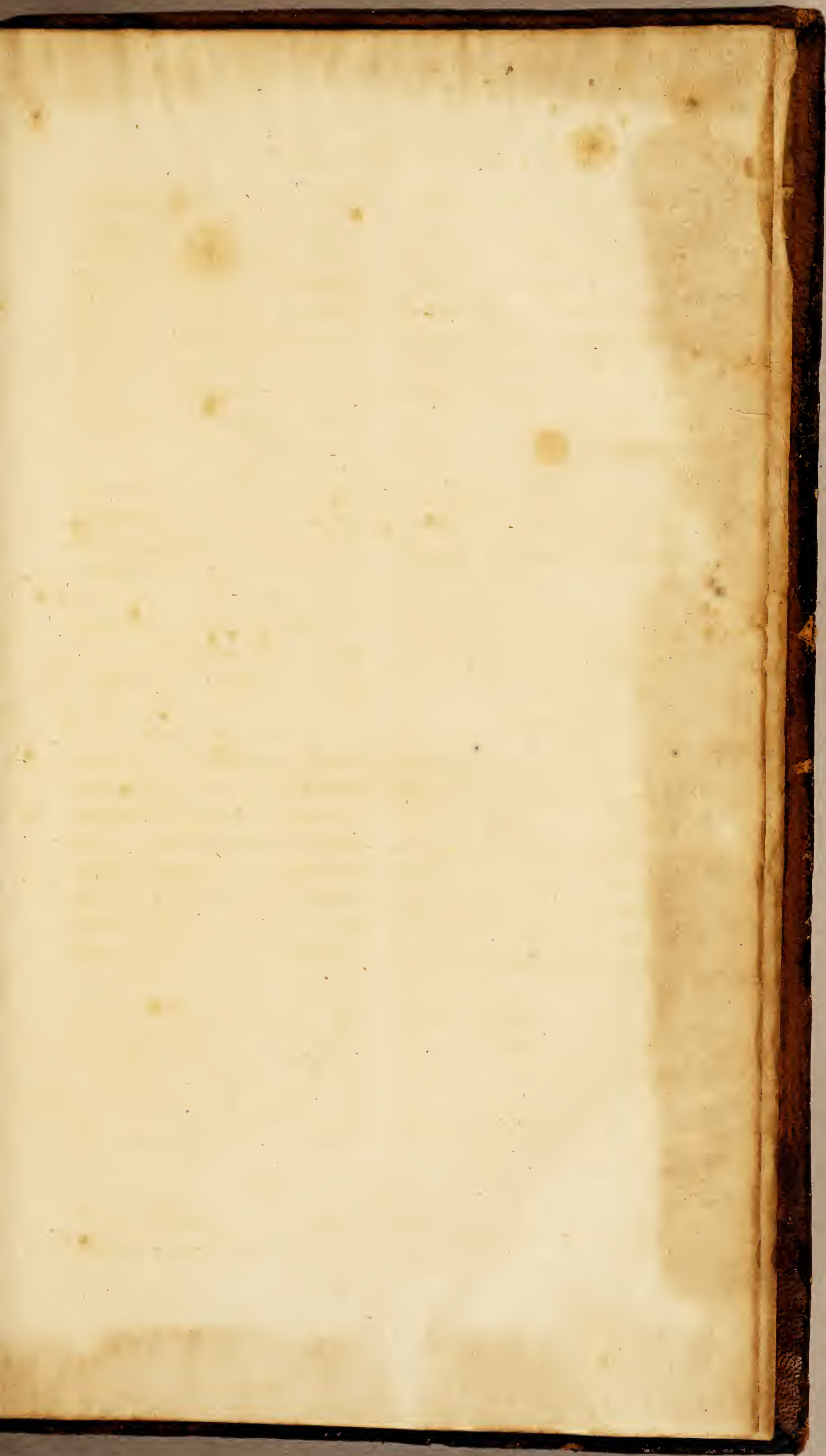
Thayer Stephen,	<i>Boston</i>	Tolman James,	<i>Dorchester</i>
Thayer Ebenezer,	<i>do.</i>	Touro Abraham,	3 <i>Boston</i>
Thayer Minott,	<i>do.</i>	Townsend Thos. Hubbard,	<i>Weston</i>
Thomas Sylvanus,	<i>do.</i>	Trevett S. R.	<i>Marblehead</i>
Thomas Robert B.	<i>Sterling</i>	Tucker Abel,	<i>Framingham</i>
Thomas Ifaiah, 12	<i>Worcester</i>	Tucker Nathaniel,	<i>Boston</i>
Thomas Ifaiah, jun.	<i>do.</i>	Tucker Daniel,	<i>Portland</i>
Thompson Thomas,	<i>Boston</i>	Tuckerman Gustavus,	<i>Boston</i>
Tilden Joseph,	<i>do.</i>	Turner Jonathan,	<i>do.</i>
Tilton Joseph,	<i>Exeter</i>	Tyler Joseph,	<i>do.</i>

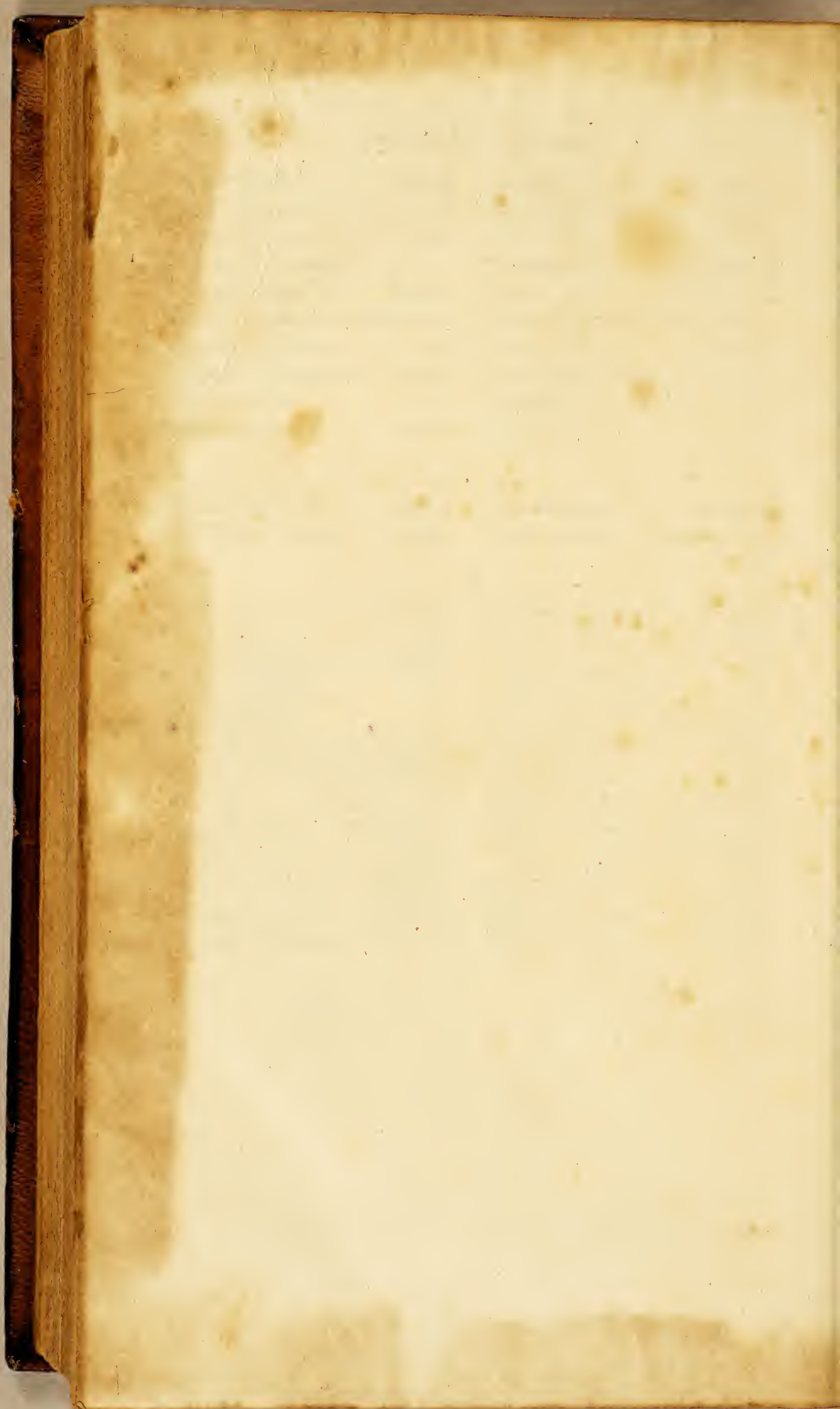
V

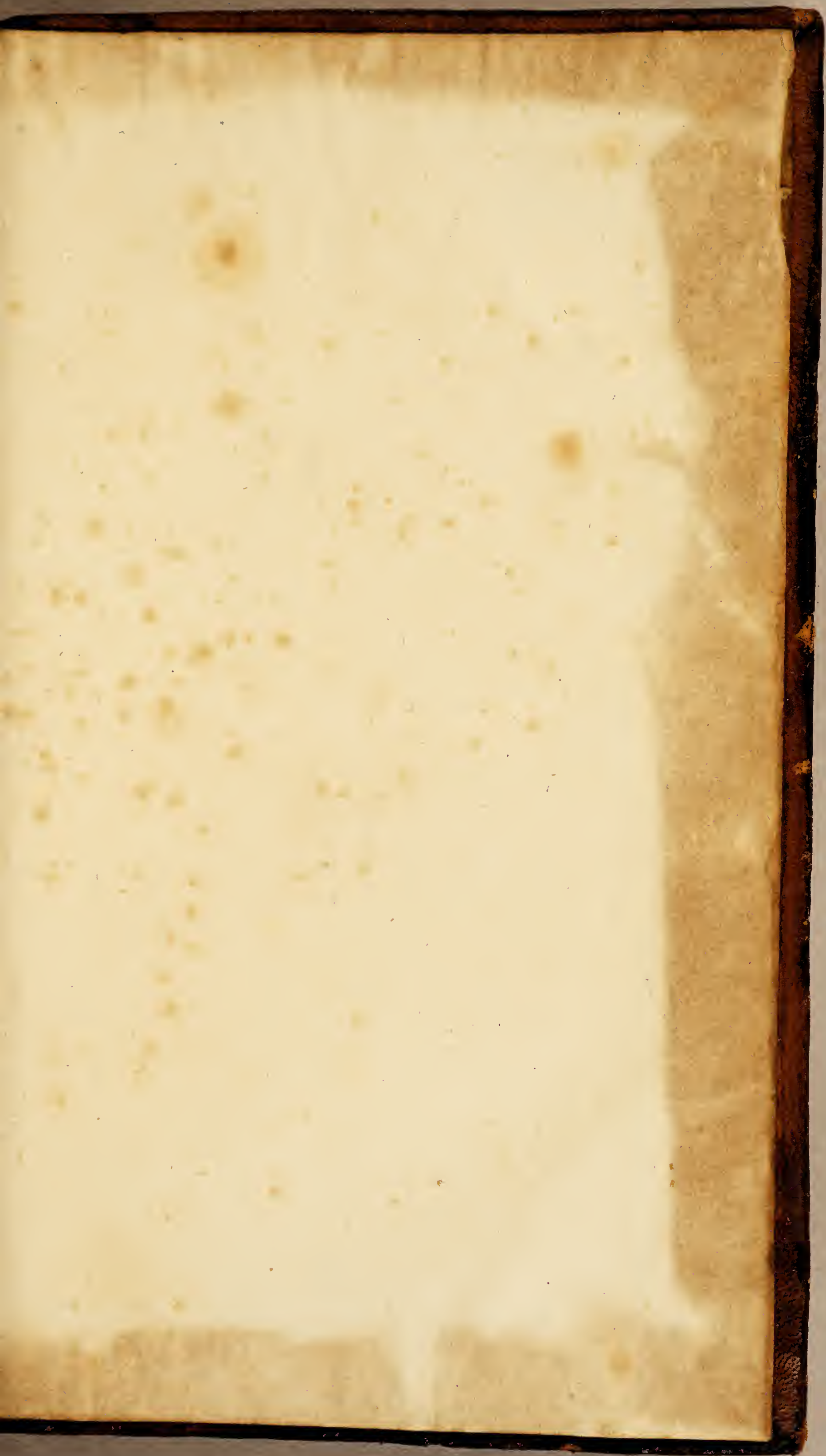
Veeder Volkirt S.	<i>Albany</i>	Vose Solomon,	<i>Northfield</i>
Vose Peter Thacher,	<i>Augusta</i>	Vose Charles,	<i>Augusta, D. M.</i>

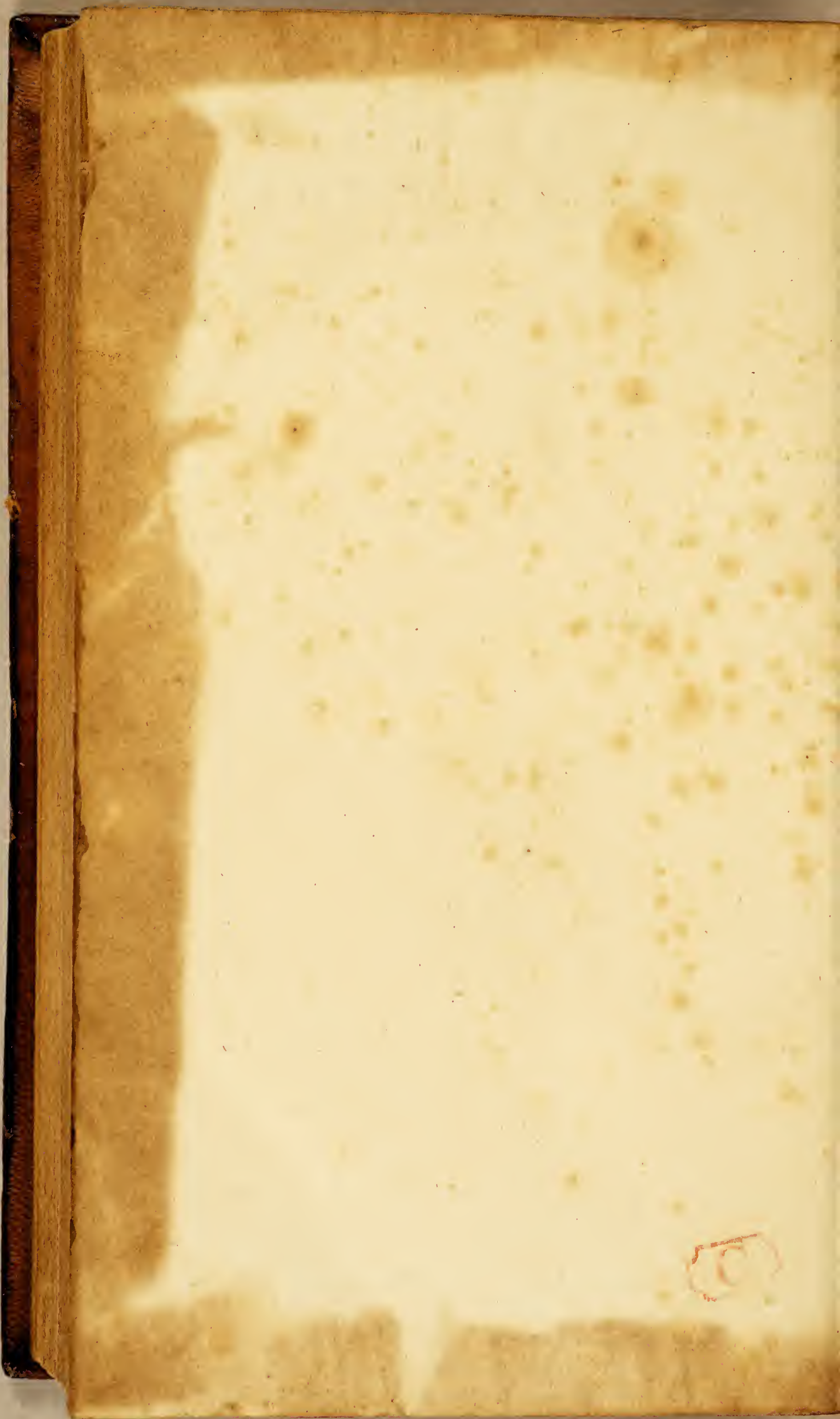
W

Waite Stephen,	<i>Portland</i>	Whitman Kilborn,	<i>Pembroke</i>
Waite John,	<i>do.</i>	Whitney John,	<i>Boston</i>
Walter Thomas,	<i>Boston</i>	Whitney Amos,	<i>do.</i>
Watson George,	<i>do.</i>	Whittemore Samuel,	<i>do.</i>
Webb Nathan,	<i>do.</i>	Whyte Oliver,	<i>Petersburg (Geor.)</i>
Webber Samuel,	<i>Cambridge</i>	Wiggin Joseph,	<i>Boston</i>
West Benjamin,	<i>Boston</i>	Willet Joseph,	<i>do.</i>
West John, 12	<i>do.</i>	Williams Stephen,	<i>Roxbury</i>
Wheeler Abner,	<i>Framingham</i>	Williams Thomas, jun.	<i>do.</i>
Wheeler W.	<i>Lincoln</i>	Winchester Ebenezer,	<i>Boston</i>
White Daniel A.	<i>Cambridge</i>	Woods Daniel,	<i>do.</i>
Whiting Samuel,	<i>Billerica</i>	Worth William,	<i>Tisbury</i>
Whiting Phinehas,	<i>Chelmsford</i>	Wyman Joseph,	<i>Roxbury</i>









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